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## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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30 NOVEMBER 1989

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### **Prestige of Foreign Officials Examined**

*18001685A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK  
in Russian No 18, Sep 89 p 8*

[Article by N. Krylova: "Power's Support"]

[Text]

#### **The Foreign Experience**

For us, even in the past, the word "official" has never been one of praise, and in recent years it has nearly become a term of abuse. However, once stripped of its emotional coloring, "official" clearly is by no means a synonym for bureaucrat, idler, or time-server but simply a worker in the administration apparatus. Since a law on government service is now in the works, it would be useful to learn how that service is organized in other countries, where it is quite prestigious.

The core of government service is made up of the workers in the inner circles of the government administration apparatus—the ministries and departments, although the employees, of course, comprise the most diverse categories: police and military, juridical and local electoral personnel, public corporations, industrial and trade institutions in the state sector, in health care, state educational institutions.

The status of professional officials is regulated by special legal norms, which define in detail how they are selected and classified, the terms of their employment, promotion, retirement, and pensions. Government service lends not only special legal status but also a social status that is recognized by both the broad public and public functionaries. For instance, in France, officials are subject to a public service law rather than the labor law, which determines the terms of hiring. In the FRG all government personnel are divided up into officials and employees. Officials fall into a special category of functionaries charged with the functioning of the government administration and a special legal status regulated by a special legislative act—the federal law on officials.

In the United States as well the status of workers in the federal civil service is regulated by special laws of Congress. Unlike other categories, such as teachers in government educational institutions, they are subject to labor law norms. In Great Britain workers in the inner circles of the government apparatus are assigned to "the Queen's service"; the rest fall under the general labor law norms.

Thus, professional officials are subject to a special legal practice. A competitive system has been established for them—candidate selection, promotion based on the division of employees into separate categories, groups, and classes, each of which, moreover, has its own procedure.

Unlike all other forms of hiring, officialdom has created what is called career service, which possesses its own rules: a person is appointed for an indefinite period, for

all intents and purposes, for life. As a rule, at 60-65 he retires with a pension. The guarantee of employment until old age is an important social privilege in the world of the market economy.

The concept of government service is linked also with the prospects of advancement—enrollment in it is rightly known as career agreement. A special legal practice assumes receipt of specific benefits during work and privileged material security after retirement. The system of benefits and privileges reflects the hierarchical nature of officialdom. In the majority of the developed countries of the West the salaries of higher officials are comparable to the rates in the private sector. Thus, in England, people occupying high posts in government service and the private sector belong to the category of persons with the highest salaries. High-ranking ministry officials have salaries corresponding to those of high-level managers in industry, trade, and banking.

Naturally, a special legal practice presumes observation of definite obligations, above all, loyalty, devotion to the state, restraint in political affairs and impartiality, which implies noninterference in electoral campaigns or party activity.

A distinct hierarchy, reflecting the subordination and coordination of posts, is one of the chief characteristics of government service. It is especially characteristic of France. Officials are divided into four categories; each of them, moreover, forms a special closed group with its own characteristics of selection and service. With his appointment to a position an official enters a specific body in which he passes his career.

The reorganizations of government service that went on in the majority of countries in the West in the 1970s and 1980s to a significant extent smoothed over the divisions between categories and groups, improved workers' mobility, opened up broader perspectives for transferring from one group to another. But this process was accompanied not only by democratization. For example, in the reform of the federal civil service in the United States in 1978, the creation of so-called top-level executive service, including officials of the three highest categories, was strengthened legislatively. In essence a closed body of high officials possessing highly privileged status was created that the administration could transfer and utilize at its discretion. Members of this body can be transfer to another position without worrying about possible demotion, whereas other federal workers are subject to a system of classification that requires demotion and a cut in pay upon transfer to a less responsible post.

In England, working from the three former grades of the administrative class, an equally closed but narrower group was created of so-called top-level administrative and political leaders, for which a special appointment procedure and special conditions of tenure were established.



It is important to emphasize the stability of government service in the countries of the West. After elections only the very top of the apparatus changes—as a rule, political figures whom the leadership of the victorious party installs in the administration. In the United States such leaders hold their position on average a little more than two years; in England even less. But permanent, professional officials form a constant element in the government apparatus and by their mass continue to stand in the “corridors of power.” Their status in the affairs of the government and in the mechanism of political power is so important that in England, for instance, officials are known as the real ruling class.

Each country, of course, has its own specifics, but in all of them the body of officials is the real influential political force associated with implementing important government decisions.

### Reader Questions Equality in Election System

90UN0064A Moscow *POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE* in Russian No 14, Sep 89  
(signed to press 1 Sep 89) pp 78-80

[Letter from readers A.I. Rustamov, S.A. Aslanzade, and E.B. Gadzhieva (Baku) and response by V. Saprykov: “Was the Principle of Equality Observed?”]

[Text] People are wondering whether or not one of the fundamental principles of our election system, namely equal voting rights, was violated. Readers have telephoned and written to the editors of *POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE* to ask them this question. We are printing just one of these letters. It came from Baku.

Issue No 10 of *POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE* printed the number of people's deputies of the USSR from the union republics (based on the results of elections, including those in public organizations).

After reading these figures, we decided to ask you a few questions:

1. Why is it that 108 deputies were elected from Uzbekistan, with a population of 19.9 million, while Armenia, with 3.28 million inhabitants (only one-sixth of the population of Uzbekistan), has 53 deputies—i.e., around half as many as in Uzbekistan?
2. Why does Kirghizia, with a population of 4.2 million, have 53 deputies, whereas Latvia, with a population of 2.6 million, has almost the same number (52)?
3. Why do Turkmenia and Estonia have 48 deputies each, even though the population of the former is 3.5 million—i.e., more than two and a half times the Estonian figure (1.6 million)?
4. Why were 57 deputies elected from Tajikistan, with 5.1 million inhabitants, whereas 58 were elected from Lithuania, where the population numbers 3.7 million?

5. Why were 72 deputies elected from Azerbaijan with its population of 7 million, whereas 91 were elected from Georgia with its 5.4 million inhabitants?

We want to understand the principles governing the election of people's deputies of the USSR in all of the constitutionally equal republics.

[signed] A.I. Rustamov, S.A. Aslanzade, and E.B. Gadzhieva

We should begin by recalling that people's deputies of the USSR are elected from territorial and national-territorial electoral districts and from public organizations. In accordance with Article 109 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Congress of People's Deputies consists of 2,250 deputies, who are elected in the following manner: 750 deputies are elected from each territorial and national-territorial electoral district and public organization. It is as if there are three groups of people's deputies of equal size.

We believe that a discussion with the readers in a question-and-answer format will provide a clearer understanding of the principles governing the election of people's deputies of the USSR in the union republics.

Question: How is the number of deputies from a particular union republic calculated? Should the people's representatives from all of these three groups be included among the representatives of union republics?

Answer: This is a question of fundamental importance. The answer presupposes a thorough understanding of the people each group of deputies represents. Those who are elected to represent territorial and national-territorial districts are included among the deputies from the union republics. Articles 16 and 17 of the USSR Law on Elections of People's Deputies say that territorial districts are formed on the basis of the administrative-territorial divisions of union republics, whereas national-territorial districts are formed on the basis of the ethnic composition of each union republic.

The people's deputies from unionwide public organizations are a different matter. Their title alone indicates that they are elected from these organizations and represent the interests of the organization as a whole and of its members. For this reason, it is wrong to include this group of deputies among the elected people's representatives of the union republics.

Question: These deputies include people from all of the 15 union republics, but for some reason the number from each union republic is not proportional to the number of voters living in the republic. Does this not violate the principle of the equal representation of union republics?

Answer: The deputies from public organizations are not elected as representatives of a particular union republic, but as representatives of their organizations. Furthermore, when these deputies were elected, each public organization proceeded from the belief that it could be

represented best by people capable of rising above even its interests and assigning priority to the interests of the entire society and the population at large—i.e., capable of political action in the real sense of the term. If the person happened to be an Uzbek, the organization elected an Uzbek, or a Russian if the person happened to be a Russian, or an Azerbaijani if he happened to be an Azerbaijani, or an Estonian if he happened to be an Estonian.... Public organizations did not elect an Uzbek simply because he was an Uzbek, or a Russian simply because he was a Russian, or an Azerbaijani simply because he was an Azerbaijani, or an Estonian simply because he was an Estonian.... This is in the interest of the people of all nationalities belonging to the public organization, the population of all of the union republics, and our union as a whole. It goes without saying that the people's deputies from public organizations are people from all of the union republics. This is one indication that each republic has many public spokesmen capable of statesmanlike thinking and action.

All of this also provides the information needed to answer the second half of the question. In light of all this, it would be wrong to say that the people's deputies from public organizations are representatives of the union republics. They represent the public organizations electing them.

**Therefore, the people's deputies of the USSR representing the union republics are only those elected from territorial and national-territorial districts.**

Question: Nevertheless, the figures cited in the letter from A. Rustamov, S. Aslanzade, and E. Gadzhievaya from Baku provide logical grounds for the suspicion that the number of territorial districts might not be proportional to the number of inhabitants in the union republics. The number of districts should rise along with the population figure. But is this the case? There are 9 territorial districts in Tajikistan, with a population of 5.1 million, but there are 10 territorial districts in Lithuania, with a population of 3.7 million. Azerbaijan, where the population numbers 7 million, has 15 territorial districts, whereas Georgia, with a population of 5.4 million, has 16 such districts. The number of territorial districts is not proportional to the number of inhabitants in other union republics either.

Answer: Territorial districts are formed not on the basis of the entire population, but **only the number of voters**. Children do not vote. Citizens of the USSR who have reached the age of 18 are eligible to vote for deputies. In other words, the voters are people who are 18 and over. The Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR specifically says that territorial electoral districts are made up of voters, and not of the population at large. The number of voters in all of the union republics was based on projected figures for 1 January 1989. The figures were estimates. As we were told in the Population Statistics Administration of the State Committee of the USSR for Statistics, the numbers were calculated by state committees for statistics in each union republic in

accordance with a single set of procedures scientifically devised by the State Committee of the USSR for Statistics.

Question: It would be interesting to learn how many voters there are, for instance, in some of the union republics cited as examples in the letter from Baku.

Answer: There are 2.415 million in Tajikistan, 3.91 million in Azerbaijan, more than 4.044 million in Georgia, and 2.5 million in Lithuania. Families in Central Asia and Azerbaijan have more children than families in the Baltic republics and Georgia. For this reason, the absolute and relative numbers of voters in the first group of republics, with higher population figures, are lower than in the second group of republics.

Question: Is it possible to confirm the observance of the principle of the equal representation of territorial electoral districts in all of the union republics?

Answer: The law says that territorial electoral districts should have an equal number of voters throughout the country. Only this will ensure that each voter will have one vote and will participate in elections on an equal basis, meeting the requirement of equal voting rights. The standard number of voters per electoral district will be established by the USSR Supreme Soviet for each election. The number for the elections that took place in 1989 was 257,300 (see PRAVDA, 4 December 1989, p 1).

Question: Why was this figure chosen?

Answer: This is the total number of voters in the country, 192,967,500, divided by 750 territorial districts. The number of territorial districts in each union republic was calculated by dividing the number of voters in a republic by the established figure for each district—i.e., by 257,300. Consequently, the number of territorial electoral districts in all of the union republics is proportional to the established number of voters per district. The principle of equal representation was observed. For instance, there were 1,850,000 voters in Turkmenia and 1,126,700 in Estonia. Consequently, seven territorial electoral districts were formed in Turkmenia and four were formed in Estonia (1,850,000 : 257,300 and 1,126,700 : 257,300). The number of electoral districts was calculated in the same manner in other union republics. For example, 15 territorial electoral districts were created in Azerbaijan (3,910,000 : 257,300), and 16 were created in Georgia (4,044,400 : 257,300). The number of territorial electoral districts in all of the union republics is presented in the table on the inside front cover of this issue of the journal [not reproduced].

Question: Does this principle apply to national-territorial electoral districts? If so, how is this done?

Answer: Answers to these questions can also be found in the election law. It also specifies the requirements for the formation of national-territorial districts. They are the following: 32 districts in each union republic, 11 districts

in each autonomous republic, 5 districts in each autonomous oblast, and 1 district in each autonomous okrug. The number of voters in a particular ethnic community is not taken into account.

Question: Is this valid? After all, the number of voters can be 10 times as high in one union republic as in another, but the standard figure is the same.

Answer: The principle governing the setting of standards must not be disputed. Our union is a union of sovereign socialist states—the union republics. Regardless of the size of their population, they have equal rights and an equal interest in strengthening their sovereignty and expanding their economic autonomy on the basis of full economic accountability. It goes without saying that this is the kind of reinforcement that will also strengthen the union as a whole. In light of this, the status of each republic is the same, and the opinions of each should carry equal weight in the highest organs of government. This is secured by the equal representation of the voters of each union republic in the highest deputatorial body in the country. This is why Russia, as a union republic, with its 103.6 million citizens who are 18 or older, elects as many people's deputies as, for example, Estonia with 1.127 million citizens of this age.

It would be wrong to leave other national territorial units out of the elections of people's deputies of the USSR, even though they have been formed in specific union republics, krais, and oblasts. For example, this applies to the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast with a population of 99,000 in the Georgian SSR, and the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast with a population of 161,000 in the Tajik SSR. Many of the autonomous okrugs in krais and oblasts in Russia have an even smaller population: 55,000 in Taymyr (Dolgano-Nenetsk) Autonomous Okrug, 24,000 in Evenki Okrug, and 39,000 in Koryak Okrug. Each of these small ethnic communities has its own distinctive national or ethnic features and interests, and these must be taken into account in all spheres of life. Who would know more about these interests and express and defend them better in the highest organs of government than the people's deputies elected from these communities? This is why the Constitution of the USSR specifically states that deputies will also be elected from autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs. Data on the number of national-territorial districts in each union republic, autonomous republic, oblast, and okrug are presented on the inside back cover of this issue of the journal [not reproduced].

Question: Obviously, this must affect the total number of deputies elected from the union republics.

Answer: It certainly does. We will illustrate this by referring once again to the questions our Baku comrades asked. Azerbaijan and Georgia sent 32 people's representatives to the all-union deputy corps as union republics. There is one ASSR—Nakhichevan—in the Azerbaijan SSR, and two—Abkhaz and Adzhar—in the

Georgian SSR. There are 11 national-territorial districts in one autonomous republic and 22 in two. This means that these ethnic communities elect 11 deputies in Azerbaijan and 22 in Georgia. Furthermore, the Azerbaijan SSR and Georgian SSR have one autonomous oblast each. Each autonomous oblast elects five people's deputies. Therefore, 59 deputies from national-territorial districts are elected in Georgia, and 48 are elected in Azerbaijan—i.e., 11 fewer. Here is another example. There are no autonomous entities in the Kirghiz SSR, and it has 32 national-territorial districts, but the Tajik SSR, where the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast is located, has 37 such districts (32 from the union republic and 5 from the autonomous oblast).

Yes, it is true that the people's representatives from autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs are among the deputies from their union republics, but they represent their own autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs.

**Therefore, the principle of the equality and the equal representation of union republics and other national entities was observed in the elections of people's deputies of the USSR. Territorial districts throughout the country have an equal number of voters, and the national-territorial districts were formed to represent each ethnic community in accordance with a single set of standards.**

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### Deputies Discuss Unread Draft Laws

90UN0229A Moscow *NOVOYE VREMYA* in Russian  
No. 41, 6 Oct 89 pp 34-36

[Article by L. Mlechin: "The Autumn Version: Report on the Discussion of Draft Laws Which the Deputies Had Not Even Had a Chance to Read"]

[Text] Of course, I had imagined hearings in parliamentary committee to be different. I had pictured certain solid gentlemen equipped with thick codes of laws, their own versions of the draft laws under discussion and their corrections to them. Experts expounding all the arguments "for" and "against," freely operating on world and national experience. Hours-long clarifications of every word, every formulation...

### The Deputies are Requested not to Worry

The USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee investigated the state of affairs with the realization of the concluding document of the Vienna meeting. Constant *NOVOYE VREMYA* readers probably notice that the magazine frequently addresses this topic: The Vienna document, adopted in the beginning of this year, gathered within itself all the fundamental international standards in the area of human rights. Its radical distinction from many other documents defending rights is that its execution is obligatory. The deadlines are cited in the document itself: This should be done over 6 months, one

year is allowed for this... The Soviet Union is more concerned than others in the strict execution of the Vienna document, since this is its only opportunity to realize an old and dear dream—to hold the 1991 human rights meeting of European states in Moscow. By design, a Moscow meeting was to cross out the past once and for all, the past when the Soviet Union figured on that dishonorable list of states which did not wish to provide their citizens with rights and freedoms. We fought for the meeting for a long time. The date of the meeting was entered into the Vienna document, and the majority of European states (as well as the United States and Canada) are prepared to send their representatives to the capital of the former "evil empire." But on one condition: If the Soviet Union fulfilled everything signed by its minister of foreign affairs.

More than half a year has passed. The Supreme Soviet committee members found out what had been done over these months while familiarizing themselves with the contents of a engraved folder which they were handed upon entry into the meeting hall. True, they managed to leaf through the thick packet of various departmental documents during the meeting, while a mini-speech was delivered by Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Anatoliy Adamishin, whose delivery evidenced the school of good diplomacy, and Deputy Fedor Burlatskiy, apparently, the chief professional of the cause of defending rights on the committee. Then questions were answered; the indispensable Colonel Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the All Union UVIR [Administration of Visas and Registration] was called upon to help with this. He remembers, but not by name, who was allowed where, and who was not allowed. By years, by countries, by categories. This was all very interesting for the deputies. And what the situation is with emigration, what is being done with the draft law on freedom of conscience, and what the fate of the law on the press is like... It was just too bad that the deputies could not have found this out earlier. And they had not even seen the actual draft laws. They explained in sign language. Anatoliy Adamishin spoke of the priorities of the draft law compiled in the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], which was sent to the Council of Ministers for the minister's signature. Fedor Burlatskiy said that he had seen the draft law on the press... "But where are all these draft laws now?" wondered the deputies. "Why are they not here, lying in front of each commission member?"

"Everything is at the Supreme Soviet," announced Ivan Samoshchenko, first deputy minister of justice. "You just have many different committees and commissions."

If the deputies had had the opportunity to carefully study both the ministerial documents and the draft laws, the conversation at the meeting would probably have been quite different. Then, at the meeting there would not have been elucidation of the situation, or (for many) a first acquaintance with the topic, but rather, the creation of laws, the lot and privilege of the people's elected representatives. They spoke of the right of Soviet people to exit and enter the country, and then switched to

Aeroflot's bad service, the kerosene shortage, and poor service. The committee agreed to send a request to the minister of civil aviation, comrade Volkov; he should work it out... Aeroflot's service is well known, and the international affairs committee would seem to have other priorities. But everyone is prepared to talk about Aeroflot, while not everyone is ready on the very difficult topic of achieving human rights in national legislation, the guarantees of political freedoms... This is where professionals are needed, strong professionals who are concerned with no other affairs than parliamentary ones, who get so deeply into a topic that they should be rated 100 points higher than any ministerial bureaucrat... Laws must not be adopted for a year or two (we can change it then if it isn't right), but for centuries, in order that they serve society no less than the American Constitution, 200 years. Perhaps we have to puzzle over a single word for months here.

Yet there is no time. And other people work over the draft laws. They are developing the rules by which we are going to live tomorrow. Who are these people? As they say, the associates of the concerned ministries and departments, with "the participation of scientists."

In contrast to the first deputy minister of justice who assured the deputies that all the draft laws have been at the Supreme Soviet for quite some time, Deputy Aleksandr Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department, said that the draft law were actually sitting in the Council of Ministers. He called upon the Supreme Soviet to exert influence upon the Council of Ministers, which is senselessly holding on to these documents:

"Why are draft laws handed over for the apparatus' consideration at all? All the same, they cannot improve upon anything; after all, specialists worked on the drafts..."

By the session's end, Deputy Aleksey Yeliseyev, cosmonaut and currently dean of the Bauman University, could not restrain himself:

"The initiative for the preparation of these or those draft laws must come from us, and they must be prepared under our control. How can we discuss something without having before our very eyes the draft laws, which we will be given at some point later to glance at quickly? And they even ask us not to "spoil things," since they are being harmonized by fine specialists..."

#### The Lost Laws

"Fifty laws! An entire 50 laws!"

This magic number has been ringing in my ears for almost a year. Our official defenders of the law, first and foremost, the diplomats from the new MFA administrations, laid this trump card on the table when the talk got around to the fact that the Soviet Union is nevertheless formulating legislative guarantees of basic rights and freedoms not in words but in deeds. This issue

resounded most frequently this summer in Paris, where the first of two preparatory meetings for the Moscow meeting on human rights was held. Something already had to be done for the Paris meeting, but our delegates turned aside any questions with the help of the trump card, "We have 50 entire draft laws prepared which achieve all international standards in national legislation."

"So where are these 50 draft laws?" asked one of the people's deputies.

"I do not know anything about 50 draft laws," replied the first deputy minister of justice. Right there at the tribune, he tried to do his own count. At first he got up to five, then he went down to four.

So the previous figure should be replaced by this one, a rounder and more ponderable one. The Law on the Press. On Freedom of Conscience. On Entry and Exit. On Public Organizations. Of these, only the law on the press is in a sufficient state of readiness, and is thus being introduced into the regulation of the Supreme Soviet autumn session.

Next year in Copenhagen, the second meeting on human rights. The final stage before Moscow. The representatives of 35 countries begin to ask one another who has done what.

"We will have nothing to boast about," warned Anatoliy Adamishin.

"The matter of the Moscow meeting will be undecided?"

An extremely great multitude of chiefs representing all the abundance of rights protection organs created in the country was invited to a meeting of the parliamentary committee in the Kremlin. I do not know if they all came, but on the chairs along the walls were no small number of prominent men in well-tailored suits. As Anatoliy Adamishin or Fedor Burlatskiy intoned the key words, "Politburo...Vienna document...Moscow meeting," the suits rustled with concern. This is also sort of a paradoxical situation: The guarantee of human rights is being created by command-administrative methods.

Yet the efficiency of command-administrative methods is well known, and thus, despite the words which sound most threatening to bureaucratic ears, the matter is moving slowly.

What is the situation with draft laws?

**Law on the Press.** Its text is now being evaluated positively. This is a version prepared primarily by three young scholars.

"And the first version simply went nowhere," noted Fedor Burlatskiy.

"Who actually prepared it," asked presiding Deputy Aleksandr Dzasokhov with interest.

"I don't know, exactly," Burlatskiy faltered a bit. "The Journalists' Union, the Ministry of Justice..."

The Journalists' Union? Practically all of our magazine's creative collective is in the union, but none of us had seen the draft. Colleagues from other publications were in complete ignorance. Who had done this in our name? Who had signed this absolutely useless draft, even infringing upon the very same rights which the press had won in battle over recent years?

One of the committee members expressed himself thus: "Glasnost is freedom of the press." Here, obviously, the desired is taken for the actual. Glasnost is simply a step on the path to genuine freedom of the press, which is determined not by permission to write the truth, but by an entire range of economic and political conditions. Free access to the printing press, a practically unlimited opportunity to open one's own publications, a complete lack of censorship, the resolution of all disputes in an independent court, and many other things which were described with brilliance by the young Marx. Unfortunately, in view of the absence of a draft law, the deputies could not determine its correspondence with Marx's ideas on freedom of the press.

**The Law on Public Organizations.** "It simply is not ready," stated Fedor Burlatskiy. Despite the fact, apparently, that this is almost the most important normative act for our society today; various organizations are being created almost on a daily basis. As a result, even the authorities are at a loss: There are no practical criteria for evaluating new societies and organizations. Why, for example, are some registered immediately and others forced to wait? How long has "Memorial" existed, and it is still not registered. Why is this right granted to the executive power? This is a direct matter of the court; after all, the single criterion is the correspondence of the registered society's program to the country's Constitution. True, to which Constitution?

**The Law on Freedom of Conscience.** Normal legislation removing the absurd limitation on the activity of all confessions, it would have great meaning for the mass consciousness, and would lower somewhat the tension in society.

Of course, there is no hindrance to the sudden renaissance which religious ideas and the current legislation are experiencing (It has become fashionable to declare affiliation to a church). If we consider today's periodical press it becomes clear that religion has been and remains the source of ethics and morality. But, it should be supposed that this is a natural reaction to the decades of forced atheism and some sort of consequence of the disappointment gripping society. These ideas are swiftly disseminated in the mass consciousness, almost as if there had been no prolonged struggle to free man from religious dogma, from the fetters of the church. However, a serious talk on the role of the church and religion in the modern world may take place only after the entire system of limitations on the activity of the church as a

social institution has been eliminated. Until that moment, the reputation of being persecuted and not quite legal is simply going to work in the church's favor.

The entire complexity of the church problems was also manifested at the committee's session. Deputy Filaret, of the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, requested the floor, and pronounced an entire speech against, as he put it, the "reanimation of Uniatism."

Deputy Filaret explained that the Uniate Church was created under conditions unfavorable to Orthodoxy, and thus began to disintegrate even before the Lvov council of 1946, which adopted the decision to dissolve it. He narrated the history of how the Greek-Catholics (or Uniates) who tried to return to Orthodoxy were imprisoned in special camps. Deputy Filaret warned that those who are now demanding the rebirth of Uniatism are threatening to take by force 3,000 orthodox temples and build in them a "new Karabakh." According to him, the Uniates are offending "our bishops, by not letting our faithful into the temples."

Deputy Filaret continued that Ukrainians confessing Catholicism may do so in Catholic temples, and the issue of Uniatism must be resolved in the Vatican. He said that a delegation of the Moscow patriarchate was in the Vatican and made the following proposal to Pope John Paul II: The Pope would recommend to all the Uniates that they become members of the Orthodox Church (that is easy to do, since the rites coincide). Those residents of the Ukraine who are more strongly affiliated with the dogma of the Catholic Church may go to Catholic churches.

Deputy Filaret warned that Uniatism is a hindrance to dialog between the Orthodox and the Catholics. Its legalization destabilizes relations between the two confessions...

One of the deputies immediately objected to the representative of the Russian Orthodox Church.

"In my okrug," he said, "60 percent of the voters are adherents of the Greek-Catholic Church. Uniatism is our most painful issue."

He said that on 17 September, 150,000 people were on the streets of Lvov, appealing for the reinstatement of Uniatism, and the repeal of the Lvov council, which was organized in the territory of the just-liberated Ukraine by NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] organs. No one is planning to take over temples, the deputy continued; it should be understood that the Uniate Church survived under difficult circumstances and will continue to exist. This is not a small group of extremists. All religious confessions have a right to exist, including the once-persecuted Ukrainian autocephalous church... The deputy addressed Filaret: "Why do we need intermediaries in the person of the Roman Pope?" Why should the representatives of the two Churches not sit down to the negotiating table and resolves all problems?

A 150,000 person demonstration in the streets of an oblast center—that is more than serious. That is why a law on freedom of conscience, which we do not have, is so necessary.

**The Law on Exit-Entry.** The bureaucratic apparatus uses its own language, and that is precisely how the law called upon to fortify the right of any person to leave his country and return to it is named..

How much has already been said on the pages of our magazine about what is the international standard for achieving man's natural right for free movement and choice of residence, and how the law should be, something which perhaps our readers know as well as the legal scholars. The draft law has not been in the committee, thus once again the deputies had to satisfy themselves with a verbal description.

The main statutes of the draft law, which has already been sent from the MFA to the Government, are:

The external passport is issued for a term of 5 years, and is retained by the bearer.

The duration of travel is determined on his own by the person exiting.

The term for private business travel (for contract work and so on) is 3 years, and subject to renewal.

Exit for permanent residence abroad is allowed with the existence of a document "confirming permission for entry."

In summer, the requirement for an invitation, a violation of the Vienna document, still figured in the draft. A new formulation appeared in the autumn version. Unfortunately, none of the deputies requested that it be deciphered: Is the "sought document" still the same masked invitation, or as this must be, a visa issued by any embassy in Moscow?

But a most important point necessary for the defense of man's rights and interests is not even introduced in this completely acceptable version: The opportunity to appeal in court a refusal to issue an external passport.

"What has the court got to do with it," the representatives of the law enforcement organs react angrily. "There is no problem here at all. Now, only a few people are refused exit."

Colonel Rudolf Kuznetsov gave information: In 1985, the refusal rate reached 85 percent; it is now .15 percent. Indeed, is there any need... Well, if we change parts of the equation: Today, .15 of those applying are refused, and tomorrow, with changing political projections?

The guarantees of rights and freedoms are that they do not depend upon internal political prognostications. Mankind has not yet come up with a better instrument than the court, which is independent and represents as much a center of power as the administration. All the

more so because the Vienna document is clear on court appeals. Alas, none of the committee members expressed himself on this issue...

The conversation on the draft law also led to a discussion of emigration.

"Some 300,000 USSR citizens and 20 million of our former compatriots live abroad," reports Deputy Yeliseyev. "Among them are more than a few rich and influential people sincerely disposed toward our country. After the Armenian earthquake, the emigration collected and gave to the country R70 million. Over the last 3 years, the emigration donated to the country works of art worth R45 million."

The deputies discussed the fact that our compatriots abroad are a significant force; they could render the country great assistance, yet no one is concerned with establishing relations with them, and in general, a negative attitude toward the emigration remains. Here Professor Reshetov requested the floor and informed the deputies that the MFA is developing a program of work with our compatriots, considering it a major trend in its activities. Included in that program, the MFA is preparing a proposal on repealing the 1967 ukase on forced deprivation of Soviet citizenship for those leaving for Israel, a ukase which contradicts the Law on Citizenship. The deputies said that it is necessary to adopt a law on dual citizenship, thus reinstating the broken link with compatriots abroad. Professor Yuriy Reshetov explained that of the European countries, only Bulgaria recognizes dual citizenship. Other states simply have a liberal policy and do not deprive of their citizenship those who have taken any other citizenship. In the professor's opinion, we should also adhere to such a line...

These were the first parliamentary hearings on human rights and humanitarian cooperation to be held in our country. In the given case, the word "first" should not be considered a compliment. All the same, this day in the Kremlin showed a great deal. The necessity of creating a firm guarantee of human rights and freedoms has not yet been recognized by the mass consciousness. A maximum of people are prepared to reconcile themselves with the need to do something in the name of foreign policy goals.

"The departments hinder the work on the draft laws, drag it out, secretly hoping that everything might still change," says Deputy Georgiy Arbatov. People in the departments do not agree with what is happening. They are not prepared for the turnaround taking place in our life. They are going to work on the draft laws only under strong pressure from the Supreme Soviet. It is necessary that this pressure be felt.

And still not even all deputies acknowledge the absolute nature of human rights and freedoms. Some committee members said, "Why adopt a law on the right to exit now, when the state does not have any money, and it is impossible to even get tickets?"

The deputies have the finest motivation: First we will earn the money, store up kerosene, build another airport, and then we will go.

We will not earn, will not store up, and will not build until each person is returned all his rights and freedoms: economic, social, civil, and political. Only a free person works well. What does the right to exit have to do with it? Rights and freedoms are like parts of a color mosaic, which are meaningless in their singularity. Only joined together do they create the foundation of a civilized society capable of flourishing

### KGB Archives Chief Discusses Glasnost, Work of Department

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Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Deputy Chief of the KGB Central Archives V. Vinogradov by PRAVDA correspondents N. Stapanishev and A. Fedotov: "Special Repository Without a 'Secret' Stamp"]

[Text] It is difficult today to astound anyone with a sensation. Indeed, quite to the contrary; sensations have become so frequent that you unwillingly regard every new one with a heavy dose of skepticism—Isn't this a soap bubble that you are dealing with? There have been so many of them, of these ringing, "sure-thing" revelations, spoken on the hasty authority of a colleague, which have ended up in confusion.

On the other hand, inaccuracies, especially with regard to the "blank spots" in history and in distinguished careers, have to a certain degree been a result of the inaccessibility, of the secrecy to outside, "unofficial" eyes of special repositories, of library holdings... "The affairs of days long gone," hidden behind lock and key, have been protected with particular vigilance against unplanned publicity.

In recent times, the locks have been removed from many formerly "seditious" holdings. And if the world has been turned upside down, then only in the sense that it has been placed right side up. It is from such a starting point that PRAVDA correspondents began a conversation with the deputy chief of the USSR KGB Central Archives, V. Vinogradov.

[Correspondent] Your archives, in the eyes of many uninitiated, are a unique citadel of secrecy, moreover one with a touch of gloominess. To what extent does this widely-held view correspond to the truth? Has the "defrosting" process affected the special custodians of the KGB archives?

[Vinogradov] It is not healthy to begin a discussion by correcting the substance of a question, but the sound of "citadel of secrecy" is extremely painful to me. The KGB archives, of course, are not "public" ones, where anyone can interest himself in any book. But to speak about "absolute secrecy" of the activities of the organs of state



security over the course of the entire existence of the Soviet state would be, I am convinced, wrong. Indeed, glasnost, a close tie between the Chekists and the people, has been a keystone in the work of chekist organs literally from the first days of their existence.

Look, the central newspapers have published things that are not even available in our archives—well, in particular, the protocols of the Second All-Russian Conference of Extraordinary Commissions [ChK] and the public addresses of the directors of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (VChK). Let us recall that in 1918 they published the open "ChK Weekly" (Yezhenedelnik ChK), in which one could read the orders and instructions of the VChK, the reports of departments, information from local areas and from the territory occupied by the White Guardists, and even lists of the counterrevolutionaries condemned by Soviet authorities, including the Social Revolutionary, F. Kaplan, who made an attempt on the life of V.I. Lenin.

[Correspondent] It is a pity that, at the fault of the editorial collegium, this weekly did not survive long. Indeed, as the document collection "V.I. Lenin and the VChK" indicates, only six issues of the publication saw the light of day.

[Vinogradov] Incidentally, our employees took part in the preparation of this collection. And in the process of this important work they uncovered unknown documents and manuscripts by Ilich. All these are preserved today in the central political archives of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

[Correspondent] In our day, it is no simple matter to find unknown documents by Lenin. This is a significant discovery.

[Vinogradov] Yes, and an appropriate qualification is needed. Indeed, a number of these manuscripts were "recognized" only on the basis of handwriting. You will agree that a professional eye is necessary here.

And it happens that discoveries are being made even in places where it is difficult to suppose they will be. For example, here is a unique fact: A stitcher doing restoration work discovered a handwritten note by Lenin in the margin of a newspaper which had been concealed beneath the cover of a book way back in the time of the Civil War.

[Correspondent] But let us return, however, to glasnost within the KGB. The preparation of an open version of the history of the state security organs would remove a mass of questions and variant readings as well as the not always justified veil of deep secrecy that surrounds the organs—doesn't it seem to you?

[Vinogradov] Here I am in complete agreement with you. All the more so as today our historians, and we have them both in our training institutions and our units, have given serious thought to working on the writing of

such a history. At the present time, the archives have set about selecting and making available documents necessary for this.

Well, and if we talking about glasnost in a somewhat broader terms, on a worldly plane, then it is not difficult to note that archive materials are being used widely in the movies and in various kinds of publications. In the past year alone, more than 5000 articles about the activities of the KGB have been published in periodicals, 11 collections of documents and materials concerning the history of the state security organs and 143 brochures and books have been issued, and almost 30 motion picture and television films plus 1500 television and radio programs have been produced.

In my opinion, against such a background, the appellation "citadel of secrecy" clearly seems an exaggeration. Rather, to the contrary, I would point to a steady tendency toward a marked extension of the boundaries of openness of chekist archive data. On this score, there is a decision of Committee's collegium which specially concerns the development of glasnost in KGB activities. Clearly, the archives are no exception here.

[Correspondent] And do you have many files? We understand that the question is, so to say, tactless, but is there something with which you can compare the holdings which you have? Well, for example, with the central archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense, which are kept in the city of Podolsk in Moscow Oblast. It is known that Konstantin Simonov, speaking to students at the Military Political Academy imeni V. I. Lenin, once made the astounding statement that "in the Podolsk archive alone there are 19 million—not files, but folders of files" (about the events of the last war—auth.). Folders of files! About one and a half, two million are the entire history of the Soviet Army, including Khalkhin-Gol and the Civil War, and this does not include the full four years of the Great Fatherland War—19 million folders.

How do the central archives of the USSR KGB look on this plane?

[Vinogradov] As is said in the reprise of well-known variety writers, the question is, of course, an interesting one... We have files, materials, which are maintained permanently and temporarily and therefore their number varies. And nevertheless, I would say that there are far fewer, many times fewer, of these files than in the central archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense which you have cited. This, incidentally, is reasonable. This is how it should be.

[Correspondent] Can you tell us in general outline about the nature, about the content of the documents which are kept in your archives? What kinds predominate—those connected with investigating, preventing, and halting the dark deeds of hostile agencies, or those characterizing the course of internal affairs—of the VChK, the OGPU, and the NKVD, the "witch hunts" among private Soviet citizens in the sadly remembered days of Stalinism?



[Vinogradov] The range of the data we keep in our archives is rather varied. Here you have the entire history of the chekist organs, including both its bright and its dark sides: the struggle against counterrevolution in the years of the Civil War and the foreign intervention; the breaking up of the subversive activities of foreign intelligence services and anti-Soviet centers abroad; the efforts to counter crime; protecting the economy and the transportation system and defending the borders of the Soviet state; and, besides this, the administrative and management documents which are characteristic of any department.

There are, of course, also materials reflecting the repressions during the years of the personality cult, during those periods when, for reasons which are now known, the principles of socialist democracy were violated and Party and soviet control were replaced by the control of individual persons. We have to believe that we are finished with this today.

It is appropriate here to recall the answer of KGB Chairman V. Kryukov to questions he was asked at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Within the Committee for State Security there are no dossiers, no card files, no information concerning the citizens of our country. Besides those who have taken the path of illegality, who because of their own actions are a cause of concern from the viewpoint of the interests of state security.

And, as stands to reason, there is a secret side to the activities of our organs, which finds reflection in the documents and files in our archives. I have in view mainly materials which reveal the forms and methods of the activities of the chekists. But, as you understand, it is not appropriate to talk about this.

[Correspondent] Interest in the nature of these documents is not dictated by simple curiosity. Nature, as they say, does not tolerate a vacuum, including a vacuum of information. A shortage of straightforward, reliable information is made up for by rumors, distortions and, frequently, tendentious interpretations of the "facts." Here is a clipping from an article by Doctor of Historical Sciences B. Ilizarov (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, No 18 of 30 April 1989) entitled "The Silent Keepers of the Special Files."

"...What lies in the modern-day special files, and moreover in the holdings of the former punitive organs? There are few who know this and therefore rumors are spreading, for example, that the corresponding organs, frightened by the revelations made at the 20th and 22nd congresses, came to the decision to destroy the court files of the Stalin era. They say that, of hundreds of thousands of files, only the covers remain. Recently, I was told that all the archive materials of the Karaganda camps have allegedly been destroyed. Is this so? There is no answer."

What comment can you make to this and similar statements?

[Vinogradov] Rumors concerning the destruction of court files of the Stalin era or of any other documents similar to them are absolutely groundless! I say this with full responsibility for my words. I can say nothing about the archives of the Karaganda and other corrective labor camps; I am not in the know. The camps do not come within the state security system and, correspondingly, there is no need for us to maintain archives.

I add that, not only are we not getting rid of documents which cast light on the Stalinist repressions, but we are doing more than a little in order to return to the public the manuscripts of scientific and cultural figures which were taken away during their arrests.

In particular, on the basis of a letter from the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers in December of last year, we sent to the Central State Archives for Literature and Art the reviews of 52 workers of Soviet culture about the creative work of Meyerhold, which had been submitted during the examination of his case. (Some of these have been published in the journal TEATRALNAYA ZHIZN.) The same was done with the manuscript of a poem by Osip Mandelshtam, which has been passed on to the commission for the literary heritage of this poet.

Now that we are talking about this kind of manuscripts, I will say that we in the archives have taken special measures to uncover the scientific and creative heritage of the scholars, writers, and public figures. And everything that we have succeeded in preserving is being sent to governmental or other scientific institutions for open public use.

I want to emphasize that the rehabilitation, the restoration of the good names and legal rights of Soviet people who suffered blamelessly in the years of repression, is one of the most important and responsible tasks for us.

Another important sphere of activity of the archives is examination of applications from former partisans and underground workers and from military counterintelligence personnel for confirmation of their participation in the Great Fatherland War, confirmation of one or another event of the past. By the way, creative organizations, museums, and school research groups are also turning to us for this.

[Correspondent] And are you often able to find loose ends that have been entangled by the war, to help after so many years?

[Vinogradov] Fortunately, rather often. We are sincerely glad about every such case; indeed our workers share the lives, suffer the pain of the people whom they are trying to help. One cannot work for us without charity, without decency. In 1985, for example, the KGB received a letter from an organization in Altay, asking it to intercede in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning an award to the former commander of a NKGB special group, Mikhail Ivanovich Asselborn. We checked the documents, confirming the military activities of this group in the rear of the enemy and the heroic death of its

commander when escaping from an encirclement. The KGB application to the USSR government was approved. M. Asselborn was awarded the Red Star posthumously. And there are many, many cases approximately the same.

I will tell you about one more. During work on the collection of documents on "V.I. Lenin and the VChK," a extensive index of names was compiled. It turned out that, other his last name, nothing at all was known about a Peoples Commissariat of Communications Routes (NKPS) representative in the Transport department of the VChK called Belyakov, who was mentioned in a decree of the Defense Council dated 28 February 1919. Senior scientific worker G. Nikolayev began to "dig out" Belyakov's biography. Nikolay Kuzmich Belyakov turned out to have been a member of the party since 1907 and a former member of the NKPS collegium. It was also possible to determine that in 1937, while deputy director of the Leningrad Scientific Research Institute for Industrial Transportation, Belyakov was sentenced by a so-called "special meeting of the NKVD" to five years confinement and that he died in 1948. In his file materials in our archives we discovered the original certification, dated 4 December 1918 and signed by V.I. Lenin, confirming N. Belyakov as a member of the NKPS collegium. The Bolshevik was rehabilitated. And we sent the original document signed by Lenin for safekeeping in the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism party archives.

[Correspondent] At the present time, as you know, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for further study materials relating to the repressions of the 1930's and 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's has now begun its work. The historian R. Medvedev (in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 5 1989) asserts that, of the total of those arrested during 1937-1938, almost a million persons were sentenced to be shot and the rest were sent to the camps. The total number of victims of Stalinism, according to his calculations, reaches approximately 40 million persons. What do you say about this?

[Vinogradov] I say that it will be possible to give the real number of victims of the Stalinist repressions only after work on the review of the cases of the 1930's and 1940's and the beginning of the 1950's is completed for the country as a whole. Now, I think, it is premature to talk about this. The work—I am judging by what we are doing in the archives—is, as they say, over our heads.

During the first half of this year alone the workers in our archives have examined 1,500 applications from those seeking rehabilitation and their relatives. All the files concerning participants in so-called "centers" and "blocks" that we know about from communications from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission have been brought up from the KGB Central Archives. Careful work is being carried out on many levels based on these. And the results are known to all: N. Bukharin, A. Rykov, L. Kamenev, G. Zinovyev, and

other prominent figures of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet state have been rehabilitated.

At the present time, not only the files of important political figures, but also of all who undeservedly suffered during this time of lawlessness and unjustified repressions are being examined in the most intensive way. The number of those rehabilitated during 1988 and the first quarter of this year comes to 47,088 persons.

If we are talking about the files kept in our archives, then during the past half year, based on appeals from procurators, the courts have closed 181 cases against 291 persons; in one case, the decision was left in force. In accordance with a 16 January 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase, 9,939 persons were rehabilitated.

Of course you understand that there can be no question of rehabilitating those who, in fact, committed serious crimes against the people and the state—the true traitors to the motherland, the members of punitive expeditions and their accomplices, the participants in bands and nationalistic groups, terrorists, malicious violators of socialist legality and officials who have falsified records. In the past year alone, for these reasons, the organs of the procuracy and the courts reaffirmed earlier decisions with regard to 3,492 persons.

To attach oneself to the victims, to attempt to associate ones own sins with this great human suffering—what can be more blasphemous than this?

[Correspondent] And a final question which is of interest to historians, writers, and journalists, who wish to deal with original documents: how can they put in some work with you, in the archives?

[Vinogradov] I have already spoken about the most varied forms of work being done with our materials, including open publication and responses to inquiries and applications. Of course, the documentary information that is contained in archive holdings is used mainly for official purposes. But this does not mean that access to it is absolutely denied to journalists, writers, and representatives of other professions. Indeed, upon their request, summaries of available materials as well as copies of individual documents are being made available to them, details are being clarified concerning various events, and illustrative materials are being handed out.

And it is necessary to say that we are not stopping here. The KGB, in contact with the Main Archives Administration of the USSR Council of Ministers, is participating in the drafting of a law "On the Archive Holdings of the USSR." This draft envisages procedures for declassifying documents in state and departmental archives as well time periods for limiting access to the secrets preserved in them. At the same time, a fundamental step is being taken toward the utilization of declassified information in overall national and state-wide interests and toward giving this work a consistent and purposeful character.

**Lapygin, Aspin on Defense Oversight**

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No 36, 10-17 Sep 89 p 6*

[Interview with Vladimir Lapygin, chairman of the Committee of Defence and State Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Les Aspin, chairman of the US House Committee on Armed Services, by Vladimir Markov, APN diplomatic analyst]

[Text] [MOSCOW NEWS] You are both heads of important parliamentary committees. Can you describe your careers?

[Aspin] I'm 51 and a trained economist. I was involved in defence planning in the Pentagon and then taught economics at a university before being elected to Congress from the 1st Wisconsin District. I've been Chairman of the Armed Forces Committee for four years.

[Lapygin] I was born in 1925. In 1952 I graduated from the Moscow Aviation Institute as a mechanical engineer. In recent years I headed research and development for the steering system of the Buran reusable space craft. I have a doctorate in technology and a Professor's title. I became a USSR People's Deputy after a tense race against three rivals in the Tuva Autonomous Republic.

[MOSCOW NEWS] The House Committee on Armed Services has been in existence for more than 40 years. The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee of Defence and State Security was formed two months ago. What are the similarities and what are the differences between these two committees?

[Aspin] Basically our Committee's function is budgetary control and oversight of the Defense Department, to make sure that the money is spent wisely. The approval of the budget is critical to our ability to influence what happens in the Pentagon because that is what makes sure that the Pentagon pays attention to Congress. The reason they have to pay attention to Congress is because Congress approves the budget. So the military has to listen to Congress.

I think that the USSR Committee has made a very good start and has a lot of potential to be very very important and very powerful in determining the size and structure of the Soviet budget.

[Lapygin] We are ready to consider the experience of American legislators, but we, of course, are not going to copy their ways.

Our Committee has, for example, listened to the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and the chief of intelligence of the General Staff on matters related to our armed forces and NATO forces. The Committee will embark on an important stage when it starts to discuss the Soviet state budget this September, primarily outlays for the development and production of weapons and other defence needs. The matters will first

be discussed generally and then each arms programme will be critically assessed as to cost. Our aim is to steadily reduce spending but this will depend on the results of the arms talks. If the talks are successful, we should be able to cut the Soviet defence budget by half by 1995, or by 38 billion roubles. As we watch the military budget discussion of the US Congress, we will also be making conclusions about our own defence spendings. One of the Committee's priorities is to promote the conversion process now under way.

[MOSCOW NEWS] The parliamentary machinery in any country needs constant improvement. How can its efficiency be improved?

[Aspin] Every country is different and no model that works in one country can be directly transferred to another. But I can tell you from our experience in the US that very important to our successful functioning in Congress, essential to our ability to operate is that we have enough money to hire staff, which is about a hundred, and that they be independent staff, that they are not a staff that has any other loyalty. They work for Congress and they work for the Armed Services Committee.

[Lapygin] We seek high competence in taking any decision in the Committee. In addition to reports and information provided by the government bodies we will rely on the analyses of independent experts. Admittedly, we don't have enough money so the Committee staff will for the time being consist of ten experts.

[MOSCOW NEWS] To what extent are both the committees independent of the military industrial complex?

[Aspin] We are not totally independent. I don't think there is any such animal. On our Committee are a number of people who represent military districts and are influenced by the military. But I think it's a question of having a chance to hear other points of view and arguments voiced by civilian experts, not just listening to the military.

[Lapygin] Many on our Committee have had vast experience working for the defence industry or serving in the forces. They know not only the real state of affairs in these fields but also what voters think. At the starting stage of the Committee's operation, they came up with various views on specific questions. This plurality of views is to be encouraged in the future.

[MOSCOW NEWS] How do both committees ensure "reasonable sufficiency" as regards secrecy? To what extent should members have access to all the information about their armed forces and military projects?

[Aspin] I think there should be various degrees of secrecy: some defence technology, for example, should be kept secret but its research and development costs should be known. From my point of view, MPs should have access to any information but must not make classified information public.

[Lapygin] We plan to continue openness in the military sphere though there are certain limits. Without a doubt, excessive secrecy has harmed and continues to harm our science and economy. The USSR Supreme Soviet will be looking into this matter and all members of the Committee will surely get access to any information they need for decision making.

[MOSCOW NEWS] Taking part in the dialogue between members of the US Congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet are also experts who used to look for weak spots in both countries to exploit them to their advantage. Today such experts have a different mission: both countries are talking about the need to eliminate the "enemy image." How is this psychological conversion proceeding?

[Aspin] It would be an illusion to think that the stereotypes of mistrust and suspicion that have accrued over decades on both sides could be quickly and fully erased. But much has been done in the last four years, a comparatively short space of time. The process has been helped on by a more active East-West political dialogue, the control measures under the INF Treaty, military and other contacts, including those between our committees.

[MOSCOW NEWS] What is your assessment of the committees' first contacts and your trip to the USSR?

[Aspin] The most important thing is that it's the beginning of what I hope to be a greatly expanded and continuous communication. We are looking forward to

some broadening of various areas of cooperation where we might work together on joint projects.

During the discussion in the Kremlin one Congress member proposed joint working groups on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and missile technology, the banning and destruction of chemical weapons and the fighting of terrorism. We could also perhaps hold joint hearings where experts from both countries would speak before our two committees.

[Lapygin] Openness, exchanges and cooperation could lead to the end of the arms race. While it is up to the governments to take decisions on specific disarmament problems, one can't underestimate the role of the committees in matters of security and arms control.

[MOSCOW NEWS] There will be a return visit to the US by members of the Committee of Defence and State Security. What is it going to accomplish?

[Lapygin] We would like to know more about what the Armed Services Committee does in general, to visit NASA, some of the laboratories and US naval bases. We would be interested in discussions with politicians and military experts to better understand processes taking place in the United States.

[Aspin] This visit is going to take place next January or a bit later. We'll be happy to reciprocate for the hospitality and openness we have received here.

**Composition of Ukrainian People's Congress Given***18001674B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 2*

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent: "Rukh Organization Formed"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka convened in Kiev for three days.

The marathon effort leading to official recognition of Rukh [Movement] went on for almost a year. Formed at the initiative of Ukrainian writers, today Rukh has a total membership, as was reported at the congress, of more than 280,000—workers, peasants, and intellectuals.

The congress was attended by more than 1,100 delegates from the entire Ukraine: Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Gagauz [Turkic-language minority residing mostly in southern Ukraine and Moldavia], Greeks, Crimean Tatars, etc. They include both Communists (210 persons) and party-unaffiliated, religious believers, atheists and clergymen, Donetsk miners and members of the Ukrainian Helsinki alliance, and representatives of all social strata in the republic. Thirty-two USSR people's deputies and 140 journalists, including representatives of 20 foreign publications, attended the congress proceedings.

People's Deputy Oles Gonchar gave a welcoming address to the congress attendees.

USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskiy, chairman of the congress organizing committee and secretary of the board of the UkSSR Union of Writers, presented a keynote address on the tasks of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka.

A group of USSR People's Deputies drew up an alternative draft law entitled "On Election of Ukrainian SSR Democratic Governing Bodies."

The delegates elected Rukh executive bodies. I. Drach, first secretary of the board of the Kiev Writers' Organization, was elected chairman.

**Increasing Number of Ukrainians Turning in Party Cards***18001681A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Sep 89 p 2*

[Article by V. Romashchenko, candidate of historical sciences: "Return to the Truth"]

[Text] Can a single-party system guard against deformations in the political system?

Following the publication of my article "Purification" in VECHNIY KIEV (22 July 1989), in which I analyzed the reasons for deformation in our society and party under

the conditions of a single-party system, I received an anonymous letter threatening physical harm.

This occurrence prompted me to send this article to PRAVDA UKRAINY to help readers correctly determine their place in the current complex political situation. The main question which concerns many people is whether or not there should be a single-party system in our country.

The fact that 42 percent of the 686 people's deputies questioned at the Congress were opposed to preserving a single-party system is creating anxiety. In the draft "Decree on Power", people's deputy A. D. Sakharov called for Article 6 of the USSR Constitution to be repealed and asked the citizens of the USSR to support his decree.

I think that the reader knows a number of other examples of calls to "overthrow the leading role of the CPSU" and conduct a peaceful "antitotalitarian democratic revolution".

The main reason for these processes is not only the action or non-action of individual leaders, but the inappropriate resolution by party agencies and organizations of the urgent contradictions in social development.

The voices of those who believe that a single-party system is groundless and are fighting for the creation of a new Marxist-Leninist party or several parties as alternatives to the CPSU are being heard with increasing frequency today. This, they say, will create conditions for and guarantee real democratic leadership of the country. What has given rise to these opinions?

First, the bitter pages of our history: the personality cult, stagnant phenomena, deformations in the political system, violations of Lenin's principles concerning the activity of the party itself, abuse of power in the higher echelons of leadership and other negative phenomena which have occurred. In addition, the "frondeur" position of some people has given rise to the inability of individual government agencies to effectively transfer the mechanism of bureaucratism onto the rails of perestroyka. This results in interruptions in the availability of foodstuffs and essential commodities.

And, finally, many people are not passing the test of truth, which results in a loss in ideals, a splitting and sometimes even corruption of personality.

Consequently, to strengthen the authority of the CPSU, it is extremely important for every Communist and every leading chain of the party to fully restore the Leninist concept of party and observe its provisions. In a nutshell, the essence of the concept is that at every stage of society's development the Communist party remains the party of its reformers, the ideological and theoretical center and the intellectual and moral leader of society. Its revolutionary character, as a natural phenomenon, is not a thing of the past. It is both its present and future. Without this, it cannot perform its leading role.

The 19th All-Union Party Conference indicated the main paths in the work of the party with respect to preserving the single-party system which is historically established in our country. This primarily constitutes the introduction of a political approach in the activity of the party leadership, decisive differentiation of the functions of party and government agencies and democratization of inter-party life. Open discussion of the problems, pluralism and conflict of opinions, unity of action among Communists during implementation of a collectively drawn up solution and the Leninist principle of collectivism of leadership without bureaucratic organizational forms which cripple creativity in party work are increasingly opening the way in this process.

Under the conditions of a single-party system there are no other parties capable of infiltrating its ranks with active but immature people who hold convictions alien to Marxist-Leninism. Widespread glasnost in accepting new members into the party, the testing of their political and organizational skills in concrete action and the taking into consideration of opinions not only of the party organization but also of the entire workers' collective are currently emerging as guarantees of a qualitative situation.

Deformations in the political system can only be prevented when the party organizations and their administrative agencies stop replacing democratic centralism with bureaucratism, eradicate red tapism in the Councils, public organizations and independent formations, strictly follow the principle of collectivism of leadership, deny "half-and-half" glasnost and the concealment of inter-party life, eliminate illegal privileges of officials and strictly observe the stipulation requiring that all Communists without exception be doubly answerable for the violation of laws regardless of rank and position.

And, finally, the second part of the question. Are there political powers in the USSR today which can create a political party as an alternative to the CPSU? In order to answer this question correctly, we must thoroughly analyze the arrangement of class powers in society. Primarily, we must determine: is it possible to propose a program as an alternative to the Program of the CPSU which will meet the fundamental interests of the people?

It is a well-known fact that the CPSU itself has indicated that its program is based on perestroika of society, acceleration of the social development of the country and achievement of a new level in its development. The interests of the working class and the peasants in understanding the strategic goal coincide. As far as the tactics of achieving this goal are concerned, all elements of the political system are participating in its development (the Councils, trade unions, Komsomol and other public formations which have been created within the framework of the existing political structure).

If they do not meet the interests of the classes and social groups, we will have to create a multi-party political system. But this will be a step backward, since the people

will not apprehend the enormous waste of effort expended in a inter-party struggle in the name of a single goal. Sooner or later, they will condemn it. But the time required for reforming society will be irretrievably lost.

The example of the creation of different fronts in the country demonstrated that they all came into being with the assistance of perestroika, i.e. the carrying out of the strategic policy of the CPSU. And this goes without saying, for there is no organizational base for creating a movement with an alternative program to the CPSU.

The CPSU has trained personnel. And the experience, composition and structure of all its chains are constructed in such a way that it is shoulder to shoulder with the people, and if Rashidovs, Medunovs and Shchelokovs appear in its leadership, they, late though it may be, will reject the party. To prevent this from happening late, the Leninist tradition must be restored to the party: it should perform the function of political leader, intellectual and moral leader, scientific center of society, bearer of progressive ideas and organizer of the masses.

What then is the reason for the increasing number of returned party cards recently?

Yes, democratization and glasnost in the party and country have actually given rise to unprecedented consequences in something, the turning in of party cards. This phenomenon cannot be explained simply. Among those leaving the CPSU are people who are confused. Exposure of the repressions during the personality cult and various kinds of deformation during the years of stagnation have had a great emotional impact on them. And they did not have enough political tempering not only to draw the right conclusions but also to strengthen the party from within by their actions. No one has the right to forget that it was the party itself which exposed all the abuse of power, the party itself which began perestroika and the party itself which needs the strengths of society to rally the masses behind it.

It is no secret that there are people in the CPSU who ended up there by accident. And a slight offense is enough for this kind of person to say that he and the party are not on the same path. In Lenin's words, this reduction in the number of party members is an enormous increase in its power and influence.

But there are deeper and more complex reasons. For example, a Communist sends a letter to the leading party agencies in which he criticizes the negative phenomena existing in industry and suggests how they can be eliminated. In response he receives open or covert persecution for his criticism and sometimes is even asked to give his notice. And here is the reaction: the insulted and humiliated person refuses to be in the same organization as his persecutors. Whereas 1,862 people turned in their party cards in the Ukrainian Communist Party in 1988, during the first six months of this year, 3,300 people have already done so. More than half had been party members for more than 20 years. In 1988, approximately 54 percent of them were workers. For the first time in the

republic, the number of Communist workers has decreased (by 10.4 thousand). But this is a question of more than politics and we need to analyze what is behind it. Especially since these processes are occurring differently in different oblasts. For example, in Kiev and Crimean Oblast the number of people turning in party cards is several times higher than in other oblasts. Therefore, each instance of withdrawal from the party should not be ignored or denied careful analysis.

A fundamental political evaluation of the cowardly behavior of party members will only strengthen its composition. And instead of rejecting the single-party system, we will prove once again that now, as never before, a high level of political maturity, willingness to assume responsibility for the reform of our society and personal courage are required of those joining the party.

#### **UkSSR Council of Ministers Chairman on Economic Reform, Other Issues**

*18001691A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 p 1*

[Interview with V.A. Masol, member, Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, chairman, UkSSR Council of Ministers, by unnamed RATAU correspondents: "For the Well-Being of the Peoples, In the Name of Brotherhood"]

[Text] **UkSSR Literature and Art Days in Kazakhstan** comprise not only a good opportunity to exchange spiritual values and to enrich these fraternal cultures. They will also facilitate the improvement of inter-ethnic relations and increase the contributions made by our republics to the entire country's integrated national-economic complex.

On the eve of these Days some RATAU correspondents, at the request of KazTAG, interviewed V.A. Masol, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers. He replied to questions concerning the implementation of the tasks assigned by perestroika in his republic, as well as with regard to how the party, soviet, and economic organs, along with the labor collectives, are solving urgent socioeconomic problems.

[Correspondents] As you know, the principal intent of perestroika is to raise people's standard of living. But it is also undoubtedly true that no social issues can get off to a start unless the economy is developed intensively. Therefore, we'd like to hear, first of all, what paths the restructuring of the economy is taking in the Ukraine and how the tasks assigned by the five-year plan are being carried out.

[V.A. Masol] An important feature of the changes taking place in our republic is the implementation of the important measures for restructuring the national economy. The proportionate share of resources being channeled into current consumption within the total volume of the national income will increase from 79.2

percent in 1985 to 85.6 percent by the end of the five-year plan. During the last four years non-production-type construction will utilize capital investments amounting to almost one-third more than were originally intended according to the five-year plan.

We have succeeded in overcoming the residual principle of developing the material base of the socio-cultural sphere. This has allowed us to conduct housing construction more intensively. Over a four-year period it will introduce 13 million square meters more than were provided for in the plans of the five-year plan. There has been a significant increase in the tasks assigned with regard to erecting general-education schools, children's preschool institutions, hospitals, and polyclinics.

Structural changes are also noticeable in the results of industrial work. During the last three years the volume of producer goods output has increased by 12.8 percent, while that of consumer goods increased by 14.1 percent.

I'd like to emphasize the fact that, with regard to the basic indicators, our republic has achieved and, in some cases, even surpassed the milestones set by the five-year plan. We've managed not only to overcome the downward creep in the growth rate of production and labor productivity which characterized past years, but also to ensure the growth of our resource potential.

Along certain lines, however, there is still, unfortunately, a serious lag. Therefore, we view the movements which have begun to appear in material production and the social sphere as signs that the restoration of health to the evolving situation has only just begun.

[Correspondents] Tell us, Vitaliy Andreyevich, about how the economic reform is being carried out in practical terms. What kinds of problems and difficulties have arisen? What future prospects do you see?

[V.A. Masol] In my opinion, the radical nature and depth of the economic reform, as well as the nature of the processes which it has brought about in the Ukraine, are nowadays, to a great extent, also characteristic of Kazakhstan's economy. We have almost everywhere the old forms of economic organization which are still in existence and the new ones, which are gathering force. We've completed converting the enterprises and associations of all production sectors to full cost accounting and self-financing. Leasing relations are being utilized more and more extensively, as well as healthy cooperative forms of economic management.

Upon the initiative of labor collectives, work is proceeding forward on establishing associations, concerns, and other previously uncustomary organizational structures. At enterprises and in associations there has been noticeable forward movement in developing progressive forms of cost accounting. Thus, approximately a thousand collectives are working in accordance with cost accounting's second model, so far 135 industrial enterprises and 11 construction trusts have converted to a leasing contract.

With the development of the enterprises' and associations' independence, there has also been a change in the principles of planning at all levels. The number of indicators to be approved in the republic's state plan and to be brought to the ministries, departments, and obls-polkoms, has decreased in comparison with last year by a factor of almost 4, while the proportion of state orders has been curtailed by a factor of 2-3.

As to difficulties, certain of them have been engendered by our past, but some are connected with all sorts of twists and even distortions of the reform's purposes and tasks, as well as by a misunderstanding of its essence. In many cases, half-heartedly undertaken solutions and our failure to finish up things have likewise been obstacles.

I consider that, with the adoption by the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of corrections and additions to the previously existing Law on Enterprises, we have taken a serious step toward expanding economic independence. On the other hand, the first steps towards independence for enterprises have already led to such negative factors as group egoism, a lowering of production plans, and attempts to place narrowly departmental interests above state-wide, nationwide interests.

We likewise often encounter a situation whereby, under monopolistic conditions, the dictates of a production enterprise which is also the supplier bring about a one-sided advantage; it ratchets up the prices and obtains an essentially unearned profit. As a result, the payout of money increases, output is not stepped up, and the imbalance of the market becomes greater. It's a serious problem, and it must be solved without delay, primarily within the labor collectives.

Imperfections in the finance-credit mechanism and the system of price-formation constitute a serious brake on progress. The existing wholesale and requisition prices do not correspond to the needs of the reform, nor to the rigid conditions of the upcoming regional cost accounting. It's also obvious that an unnatural situation has developed in the case of the requisition prices on agricultural produce. If we likewise add in here the relatively low prices on raw materials, fuel, and metal, then our problems in connection with converting to regional cost accounting become more understandable.

The Ukraine stands firmly on positions of economic sovereignty. But, in our opinion, it still must be approached gradually, by means of attaining some sorts of compromises, by working out the appropriate legal statutes, rather than on a wave of emotion. We must avoid such miscalculations and poorly thought-through solutions which would become a cause of economic isolation and non-equivalent exchange among republics.

[Correspondents] One of the most pressing problems is the food problem. How is it being solved in the Ukraine? What is being done to carry out the decisions of the March (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee?

[V.A. Masol] Despite certain shifts, the acuteness of this problem is being reduced too slowly. In light of the decisions taken by the March Plenum of the Central Committee, we view the principal task as making sure that this republic's population during the next few years senses a substantial addition to the food supply.

Let me note, by the way, that we have virtually solved the problem of providing supplies of flour, pastry, and macaroni items, as well as vegetable juices, vegetable oil, margarine, and eggs. In the very near future we must substantially improve the supply of meat and dairy products, and the assortment of fruit and vegetable products, along with significantly improving its quality.

In agriculture a great deal of attention is being accorded to mastering intensive technologies, creating new species and hybrids, and to the organized conduct of the entire complex of operations. The early grain crops exceeded 35 quintals per hectare, which is significantly more than in previous years. We have done well in fulfilling the plan for requisition of sugar beets and sugar production. This also pertains to sunflower seeds.

In agro-industry we are placing great hopes on contract-type collectives. Nowadays they encompass approximately 80 percent of the persons employed on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The number of lease-type collectives exceeds 25,000. They have been given about 9 million hectares of arable land, 3 million head of cattle, including 1.2 million cows, one-fifth of the head of swine, and one-fourth of the sheep.

Implementation of the comprehensive program for the restructuring of rural areas has been activated.

[Correspondents] Of course, the problems of providing housing, consumer goods, the development of health care, and the restructuring of the entire service sphere are no less urgent....

[V.A. Masol] We're devoting top priority to solving the housing problem. It is for this purpose that the Housing-2000 Program is being carried out. Before the end of this century we intend to provide every family with either an individual apartment or a private house. In order to do this, we are intensively developing our home-building base and capacity to turn out construction materials. A large portion of the housing is being erected by the economic-management method. Individual housing construction is growing at an accelerated pace. We are extensively engaged in the practice of creating young people's housing-construction cooperatives, as well as planning-and-construction associations.

In health care we obviously have common troubles. The principal reason for its lamentable status is the insufficiency of budgetary allocations. We're spending an insignificantly small amount of money on health care. Nevertheless, despite the still meager resources, we're trying to find the funds to strengthen the treatment base and train skilled staff personnel. After thoroughly analyzing the status of medicine, we have come to the conclusion



that the top-priority trend in health care should be placed on preventive work. We've recently worked out a comprehensive program for preventing diseases and forming a healthy life style for the period until the year 2000.

As to increasing the production of consumer goods, we are lagging substantially behind the other union republics. In order to correct the situation, a great deal of work is planned for restructuring the heavy-industry enterprises and strengthening the material-and-technical base of the principal consumer-goods production sectors. Before the end of the next five-year plan we plan to construct or renovate more than 100 enterprises engaged in producing clothing and footwear; more than 60 enterprises will be modernized on the basis of imported equipment.

[Correspondents] Problems of ecology have also evidently become exacerbated in the Ukraine. What is being done specifically to restore the health of the environment?

[V.A. Masol] Let me speak frankly: the situation with regard to ecology is quite complicated. And this has been caused, above all, by the fact that the technogenic loads have sharply increased, since as much as one-fourth of the country's industrial and agrarian potential is concentrated in our republic. In industry the Ukraine accounts for 47 percent of the All-Union mining of iron ore, more than a third of the steel and rolled metal, and a fourth of the coal mined in the USSR. Likewise affecting the ecological situation is the high degree of the territory's agriculturalization, the dense transportation network, and the presence of many industrial cities.

In recent times we have been attempting to correct the situation. We have succeeded in lessening certain unfavorable tendencies, and here and there even overcoming them. Over the period of the last three years, despite the constant growth of production, we have reduced the fencing-in of fresh water by 3 billion cubic meters. Under the conditions of this republic's water shortage, that's quite a bit. A great deal of work is being conducted on reactivating ruined lands. The amounts of harmful emissions into the atmosphere have been reduced somewhat, but the ecological situation still remains quite complicated in many cities.

We recently approved a program for restoring health to the air basin, especially in large cities. The main thrust in this program is to sharply reduce the harmful emissions from automotive transport.

But, of course, the Chernobyl accident became a great common disaster affecting all of us. We're profoundly grateful to all the Union republics, including the peoples of Kazakhstan, for their fraternal aid in eliminating the consequences of this catastrophe. We must again review all plans and designs from the viewpoint of ecology. Losses from the accident at Chernobyl were enormous. Suffice it to say that 190,000 hectares of land had to be taken out of the national-economic circulation. During a

two-year period almost 11,000 farmstead-type homes, 1500 apartments, and many social-type facilities were built in Kiev Oblast for the evacuees.

We are now working to make sure that the transition is made in the sphere of land utilization from administrative to predominantly economic methods of running things. The following task has been assigned: with the help of the new economic mechanism, to make the protection of nature advantageous for every enterprise and for every working person.

[Correspondents] Democratization has opened up room for people's national self-awareness to grow. At the same time, problems of inter-ethnic relations and problems of developing a national culture have also been revealed....

[V.A. Masol] The successes achieved during the years of the Soviet regime in solving the nationality problem are indisputable. Nevertheless, as noted in the CPSU's draft platform on nationality policy under present-day conditions, the dynamism and successes which characterized the initial phase in the formation of our multi-national state were essentially lost and interrupted by the departure from Leninist principles during the following decades.

We have provided an honest and principled evaluation of the deformations in the nationality policy and their consequences. Taking this experience into account, we have adopted practical measures aimed at consistently implementing the Leninist principles of national construction. We wish, first of all, to create an integrated concept of the development of the Ukrainian people's spiritual culture. It will consist of a comprehensive program for developing the Ukrainian national culture for the period to the year 2005, a plan for which is now in preparation. Also provided are measures that will allow us to preserve and multiply the cultural potential, to provide for the multi-faceted development of the Ukrainian language and literature, as well as all types of art and folk creativity.

A widespread public resonance was evoked by the founding in our republic of the Society for the Ukrainian Language imeni Taras Shevchenko, which set as its principal task assisting in the development of the native language, as well as forming a feeling of love for the Ukrainian language and culture. In order to improve patriotic and international education, the Druzhba republic-level, cultural and educational center was founded. We intend to open centers in all oblasts.

Legislation is being improved concerning matters of national relations and the development of national cultures. UkSSR Draft Laws and additions to the UkSSR Constitution are being prepared on granting Ukrainian the status of the state language, along with fully ensuring the principle of the national-Russian bilingualism, the free development and functioning of the languages of the national minorities living on the territory of our republic.

Like Kazakhstan, the Ukraine is a multi-national and multi-lingual republic. Members of more than 100 nationalities live here. We are concerned that all of them have the opportunity to realize their national-cultural aspirations, particularly in the sphere of education, folk creativity, and the creation of focuses of culture. In places where national-ethnic groups live compactly 210 schools are already in operation with instruction being given in the appropriate languages. More than 450 departments for studying the languages of the national minorities have been opened in this republic's educational institutions.

Of course, there are also problems in matters of inter-ethnic relations. In solving them, we proceed from the point that each person, no matter what nationality he may belong to, should feel himself to be a citizen with equal rights everywhere. In this regard, the example of the more than 7,000 Kazakhs living in the Ukraine is indicative. Of these, 42 have been elected as deputies of oblast, city, and village soviets. We are also striving to create favorable conditions for study in the Ukraine by Kazakh as well as other students. At VUZ's where 600 students from the fraternal republics are enrolled there are functioning Kazakh vocal and dance ensembles.

Life is rich with many bright manifestations of friendship between peoples, the roots of which go back to the distant past. We are proud that the great son of the Ukraine—T.G. Shevchenko—stood at its sources.

Contacts between the Ukraine and Kazakhstan in the field of culture, as well as economics, are developing fruitfully; the foremost place in this process undoubtedly belongs to such a form of cultural exchange as the Literature and Art Days. Last September the Days of Kazakh Literature and Art were held successfully in the Ukraine. Now we have prepared with great responsibility for the Days of our literature and art in Kazakhstan. I'd like to wish the peoples of fraternal Kazakhstan great successes in solving their complex socioeconomic problems.

#### **UkSSR Draft Constitutional Amendments, Election Laws Examined**

##### **Kiev Deputies Meet with Working Group**

*18001698A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
10 Sep 89 p 3*

[RATAU report: "Meeting at the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On September 8 a meeting took place at the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium between deputies of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet from Kiev and the Kiev Oblast and members of the working group summarizing suggestions and remarks which will go into the draft of the UkSSR law "On Amendments and Supplements to the Constitution (Fundamental Law)." The meeting was on the elections of people's deputies of the UkSSR and of the republic's local soviets.

In his speech at the meeting, N.G. Khomenko, the secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, observed that these draft laws have attracted a great deal of interest among voters; among deputies of soviets; in workers' collectives; in party, soviet, and economic organs; and in public organizations. More than 65,000 suggestions and remarks were presented to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium: more than 26,000 concerning the draft law "On Amendments and Supplements to the Constitution", around 20,000 concerning the draft law "On the Election of UkSSR People's Deputies", and also almost 20,000 concerning the draft law "On the Election of People's Deputies of Local Soviets."

In more than one third of the suggestions, the draft laws on the whole were positively received. And amendments and supplements are being introduced to specific articles. In particular, a significant number of the responses challenged the provisions of the draft law on the election of deputies from public organizations. Almost 2.5 thousand remarks included suggestions that this provision be removed from the draft. In 1600 cases the suggestion is made to register any number of candidates for deputy, as long as there are no fewer than two. A number of comments were made on the articles touching upon the accountability of persons advocating or propagandizing election boycotts. Many comments were made on the articles on allowing district commissions to revoke a decision to register a candidate whose campaign creates conflicts with the USSR or UkSSR Constitutions or other laws. The articles on the size of a collective allowed to advance a candidate for deputy also received a number of comments.

It was also announced that at the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium six USSR people's deputies presented for national discussion an alternative to the draft laws "On the Elections of UkSSR People's Deputies" and "On the Election of People's Deputies of the Republic's Local Soviets." The alternative draft is titled "On the Election of UkSSR Organs of Government by the People." At the present time this draft is being studied in detail by specialists.

An exchange of views took place on the issues raised at the meeting. Deputies V.V. Shatilova, I.P. Grushchenko, K.M. Sytnik, S.K. Kirillova, P.P. Volkov, S.M. Martynyuk, A.D. Korotchenko, Yu.A. Bondar' and others spoke about the need to explain the published draft laws and to make more extensive use of the news media. At the meeting it was stressed that in clarifying the provisions of the draft laws directed at the future democratization of our society and at extending perestroika, it was important to consider every constructive comment made and to organize work on draft laws in such a way that the voters feel themselves to be true participants in the making of these laws. It was also argued that it is important that the drafts be discussed in every workers' collective, in institutions of higher and specialized secondary education, and among the population in their residences.

The deputy chairman of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Yu.G. Bakhtin, addressed the meeting.

### Discussion of Proposed Constitutional Amendments

18001698B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
10 Sep 89 p 1

[Interview with V.I. Kirnenko, head of the department on questions concerning the work of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Soviets, by a RATAU correspondent: "How we will vote"]

[Text] In the republic, the draft laws "On Amendments and Supplements to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)," "On the Election of UkSSR People's Deputies," and "On the Election of People's Deputies of Local Soviets" are being widely discussed. These documents have sparked heated discussions and debates and given rise to different assessments. A RATAU [Radio and Telegraph Agency of the Ukraine] correspondent spoke with V.I. Kirnenko, the head of the department on questions concerning the work of the UkSSR Soviets of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, about the course of discussions on the drafts, and about work on suggestions and remarks received by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Correspondent] First of all, Valentin Ivanovich, please tell us how the work on creating the drafts was organized and who took part in drawing them up.

[Kirnenko] I would like to stress right away that the documents presented for public discussion are the result of the collective efforts of lawyers, historians, social scientists, and specialists in many sectors of the national economy. They are not, as some citizens suggest, created only by staff members. The draft laws are the work of a large collective authorship. They were prepared by working groups formed by the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium already in August of last year.

For example, out of 19 members of the working group for preparing the draft law "On Amendments and Supplements to the Constitution of the Republic," 13 were Doctors of Science. Among them were Academician I.I. Lukinov, director of the Institute of Economics and vice-president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences; I.F. Kuras, corresponding member of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences; N.I. Kozyubra, I.F. Butko, and other Doctors of Law from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Government and Law. Taking part in the preparation of draft laws on elections were docents of Kiev State University and the Kharkov Law Institute, V.F. Melashchenko and V.D. Yavorskiy. Secretaries of oblast soviet ispolkoms [executive committees] and other authorized persons also took part. A full list of members of the working group has been published by the press.

The members of the working groups have tried to make the new draft laws reflect the interests of the republic's

broad masses; with this goal in mind they have analyzed the positive aspects as well as the miscalculations that went into the organization of the elections of USSR people's deputies. They have also studied public opinion and analyzed letters received by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Party and soviet organs as well as public organizations have made preliminary statements concerning the documents that have been prepared. Only after having been discussed twice during sessions of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium were they presented for public discussion, which will continue until October 1st.

The contents of the drafts conform to the USSR Constitution and the guidelines of the Congress of People's Deputies. They also take into account the experience of the republic's election campaigns.

The amendments and supplements to the UkSSR Constitution reflect a general approach to resolving the issues of legally safeguarding perestroika and increasing the role of Soviet laws. They touch upon sections and clauses which define the system of soviets, the process of their creation, and their activities. The provisions concerning the Council of Ministers and judicial bodies are undergoing changes. An article is included in the draft which defines the governmental status of the Ukrainian language.

And here I must stress that the published documents are still not the final texts of the laws.

All decisions and alternative formulations are studied by working groups and by the Committee on Legislative Proposals of the republic's Supreme Soviet. And only after the Presidium and the UkSSR Supreme Soviet give their final evaluations do the drafts take shape as laws. The chief goal is to bring these legislative acts into accord with the process of democratization in our republic's public and governmental life.

We have already received more than 26,000 suggestions concerning the draft law "On Amendments and Supplements to the Republic's Constitution" as well as 20,000 concerning the draft law "On the Election of UkSSR People's Deputies" and almost 20,000 suggestions concerning "On the Election of People's Deputies of Local Soviets."

[Correspondent] As we know, a group of six USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine presented the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with an alternative draft law, "On the Election of Ukrainian SSR Organs of Government by the People." What is the fate of that draft?

[Kirnenko] It has been referred to the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislative Proposals. And it has also been passed on to the following institutions for detailed study and evaluation: the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Government and Law, the Kharkov Law Institute, Kiev State University, and the All-Union

Research Institute of the Development and Legislature of the Soviet State. So as you see, the draft is not going unnoticed. I would like to simply point out that there is quite a bit of discussion on this topic. Slogans calling for strikes and a boycott of the elections are being heard. Such extremism creates anxiety. It is clear that no drafts can be ideal, even if authoritative specialists are brought in to prepare them, as was the case with the documents published here in the republic. But public discussion will set the goal for itself of perfecting these drafts and possibly rejecting those provisions which do not find support among the majority of the population.

The processes involved in the future democratization of our society are incompatible with attempts to exert pressure, create tensions, and substitute emotions for reason. All of these have nothing in common with true democracy.

Incidentally, literally the other day a USSR people's deputy—I.A. Vakarchuk, departmental chair at Lvov State University—presented at the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium yet another alternative version of the draft law "On the Election of Deputies of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet." The Lvov gorkom [city party committee] Komsomol had passed it on to him. A group of seven authored the draft. Like all other suggestions and remarks, this draft will be studied according to established procedures.

[Correspondent] Valentin Ivanovich, what are the most disputed positions taken in the draft law "On the Election of UkSSR People's Deputies"?

[Kirnenko] Article six, for example, which states that citizens of other union republics living in the Ukrainian SSR have the same voting rights as citizens of our republic. This article stresses the equal rights of all peoples of our nations and is now being sounded politically against the background of the well-known new legislature being introduced into Estonian draft laws on permanent residency as a voter qualification. These new laws not only contradict the concept of the democratization of the electoral system, they also violate the USSR Constitution.

The draft law contains a provision on the election of people's deputies from public organizations. Drafts drawn up in Belorussia and Moldavia include similar articles. The Kazakh SSR has also come up with similar drafts in a different form. Drafts from other union republics have not yet been made available.

[Correspondent] What are the foundations for the existence of this institution?

[Kirnenko] The USSR people's deputies, chosen from public organizations, represent every stratum of society. They are veterans, women, young people, workers and peasants.

I should also point out that the assertion that those chosen are primarily the leaders of these public organizations is groundless. This is not at all the case. For example, of 87 USSR people's deputies chosen from public organizations and working in our republic, only two are secretaries of party organs, two are secretaries of Komsomol committees, and five are chairmen of trade union committees. The overwhelming majority of them are either engaged in production, research or creative work, or they are veterans.

Indeed, how can we do otherwise than to represent in parliament war and labor veterans, for example, who make up almost 10 million people in our republic, or 30 percent of the voters? Women and young people are in a similar position.

Of course the suggestions presenting the pros and cons of this issue must be thoroughly studied before a final decision is made.

An amendment to Article 39 includes an important provision. Its idea is that we not limit the votes for candidates for deputy advanced by public organizations to the corresponding republic's governmental bodies, but take into consideration as well local opinion, based upon the results of candidates' discussions at congresses, conferences, plenums, and public meetings of their oblast rayons and city organs.

Article 40 has been reformulated in a fundamental way which deserves attention. The number of candidates forwarded for registration in the elections of people's deputies from public organizations should exceed the number of deputy mandates. It is understood that this will create competition from alternative candidates at plenums, conferences, and meetings.

[Correspondent] There are other new developments as well...

[Kirnenko] Article 38 has undergone fundamental changes. First of all, assemblies of students from higher educational institutions and from specialized secondary-education institutions and vocational schools will be included among the collectives allowed to advance candidates for deputy. Second, collectives with no fewer than 300 members will be allowed to advance candidates.

The latter provision has aroused objections from some people. But would it be fair for collectives with five or ten thousand members to have the same right to advance one candidate as, say, a library with seven? Therefore the law provides that collectives with fewer than 300 members can, with the agreement of district election commissions, conduct joint assemblies (on a territorial or branch basis). In this way, no one will be offended.

The quota needed for an assembly of voters at a place of residence has also been reduced in comparison with

union law from 500 to 300 people. Similar quotas are provided for in draft laws of the RSFSR, Belorussia, and other republics.

[Correspondent] Valentin Ivanovich, is the rule on calling persons into account for advocating or propagandizing boycotts of elections lawful?

[Kirnenko] Here we must not confuse the concept of the right of every voter to take part or not take part in an election (i.e., the voter's right to express his will) with a call by individuals for a boycott of elections. We can hardly consider it acceptable for a group of people (often an insignificant one) to surround a polling place and call upon the voters not to vote as a means of preventing the election of a candidate who is not to its liking. In doing this, some voters would be encroaching on the rights of other voters to express their will.

It has been considered expedient to do without formal action on the certification of voters. It has been established that citizens who have changed their places of residence between the time a list of voters is presented for general review and the day of the elections fill out a ballot for the corresponding candidates for deputy and hand them in to the district election commission in a sealed envelope. The envelopes are opened upon counting the vote.

[Correspondent] Differing views have been expressed on the supplement to Article 45, which states that if the program of a candidate for deputy is in conflict with union or republic constitutions and other laws, then the district election commission can consider revoking its decision to register the candidate. What is the crux of this issue?

[Kirnenko] It is not a question, as some would indicate, of cases in which a candidate expresses his intention to introduce this or that amendment to the Constitution. Some would have us believe that the district election commission would look upon this as sedition. Not at all. But if a candidate begins to campaign for forcible changes in the Soviet governmental and social order and advocates actions which would entail violations of the equal rights of nationalities and racial groups, etc.—in such cases the force of the law will step in.

In conclusion, I would like to once again emphasize that the proposed draft laws are not final. Their public discussion will allow us to consider the views of the majority and introduce amendments and supplements which will correspond to the interests of every person.

### Armenian Officials Discuss Draft CPSU Nationalities Platform

90US0053A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
9 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Armenpress report: "The Nationality Question—A Component of Perestroyka"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee believes that one of the most vital parts of the overall concept of perestroyka is the party's present policy in the nationality question, a policy which takes account of Soviet and world experience and, on the basis of organically combining the equality of all the peoples of the USSR and the equal rights of citizens, is to provide the conditions for strengthening their friendship and cooperation, regardless of their national affiliation. These fundamental postulates of the party's nationality policy are summarized in the draft CPSU platform that has been submitted to discussion by all the people.

A discussion of the draft was the object of a joint meeting of the Armenian CP Central Committee Ideological Commission and the Commission on Questions of Interethnic Relations, which was held on 7 September. The meeting was participated in by eminent scientists, historians, economists, sociologists, philosophers, and representatives of the social and creative organizations and the press.

The meeting was conducted by G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Commission on Interethnic Relations.

The participants were informed about the proposals made by the commissions and the Armenian CP Central Committee concerning the draft platform by G. Galoyan, a secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee and chairman of the Ideological Commission. Extended debates were participated in by V. Petrosyan, first secretary of the Spandaryanskiy Raykom; N. Oganesyan, acting director of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies; Kh. Barsegyan, director of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House; E. Mirzoyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Composers Union; republic Procurator V. Nazaryan; G. Simonyan, director of the Armenian affiliate of the Marxism-Leninism Institute; Academician M. Nersesyan of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences; R. Oganesyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian SSR Writers Union; V. Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Department of the Culture Fund; Yu. Mkrtumyan, secretary of the party committee of the Yerevan State University; Professor L. Karapetyan, historians A. Karapetyan, L. Khurshudyan, V. Mikayelyan, and A. Akapyan, literary critic A. Yegiazaryan, and others.

Having endorsed the CPSU's draft platform on the nationality question, the joint meeting noted that it offers a number of important provisions, the implementation of which should serve to overcome crisis phenomena in the field of interethnic relations, phenomena which are deeply disturbing to Soviet society. These provisions primarily include ideas about transforming the Soviet federation, expanding the rights and possibilities of national autonomy, protecting the equal rights of every nation [narod], creating the necessary conditions

for the free development of national cultures and languages, and strengthening guarantees against infringements upon the rights of citizens based on nationality.

It was noted, at the same time, that the mechanism of practical realization of these ideas, as presented in the relevant sections of the platform, needs to be made considerably more concrete, with more precise indications of the ways the tasks are to be accomplished. It is also essential that the state's domestic policies in the sphere of ethnic relations be brought into line with the norms of international law, with the obligations which the USSR has taken upon itself in accordance with international conventions, treaties, and agreements. Participants noted that although the platform properly comments on the importance of restoring the Leninist principle of national self-determination in its true meaning, it has, nevertheless, failed to evidence an understanding of this fundamental thesis under present conditions.

Today's realities absolutely dictate the necessity of treating nations' [natsii] right to self-determination not only in terms of any particular republic's ability to secede from the USSR but also in terms of people's self-determination within the framework of the Soviet federation. This refers, in particular, to recognition of autonomous formations' right to freely secede from one union republic and to join another. This is the kind of approach that is consistent with the socialist, Leninist principle of the nations' right to self-determination. The idea was expressed that the self-determination of nations and nationalities, as a fundamental principle of nationality policy, must be made the cornerstone of the organization and administration of all spheres of life in a multi-national state. The adoption of the appropriate political and legal guarantees of the right of nations and nationalities to self-determination should be stipulated by law.

The platform notes the necessity of radical transformations in the Soviet federation. It notes that this unconditionally reasonable requirement can be fully met primarily by establishing the genuine equality of all nations and nationalities—large and small—as members of the federation. This is precisely how V.I. Lenin stated the issue at the dawn of the formation of the USSR as he waged resolute battle against the Stalinist concept of "autonomization." A federation should not be a union of republics but of peoples. Otherwise, the inequality of rights of peoples—in particular, those having their own autonomous formations—will persist.

In this connection, it was deemed essential to examine the question of removing autonomous formations out from under republic jurisdiction (with obligatory consideration of the will of each people) and incorporating them directly in the structure of the federation. This would serve to eliminate the multi-level system of certain peoples' subordination to others, a system which poses the danger of generating interethnic conflicts.

This principle cannot be implemented within the framework of a union republic but must be implemented within the framework of the whole Soviet federation. This would be consistent with the decision of the 19th Party Conference to review the status of autonomous formations and would put an end to the mistakes generated by the Stalinist plan of autonomization.

It was also judged essential to have the platform stipulate precisely not only the rights but also the duties of nations and nationalities in regard to ensuring the integrity and unity of the state through joint participation in the matter of strengthening and developing the nationwide national-economic complex, development of the armed forces, and so on.

Many of the proposals that were made touched upon questions of enhancing the role and legal status of national autonomies.

The draft platform stipulates that unresolved disputes between union republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous formations that are part of them shall be submitted to the supreme organs of authority of the USSR for examination and definitively resolved by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. It should be added that in resolving such issues, the all-union organs shall take account primarily of the people's expressed will as revealed by means of a referendum or other democratic means.

In addition, it is essential to determine more precisely which category of disputes between union republics and autonomous formations thereof can be submitted to all-union organs of authority for examination, and just what the powers of these organs to resolve such disputes are. Special precision is needed here, because lack of clarity can result in the violation of the sovereign rights of the union republics, on the one hand, or in tyranny and unlawful acts on the part of these republics in regard to autonomous entities within them, on the other.

Participants in the meeting also emphasized that the platform ought to clarify the principles of the structure of the federation, its functions and the functions of local organs, and define the mechanisms of radical restructuring of the federation. They commented on the erroneousness of classifying nations as consolidating [konsolidiruyushchiye] or non-consolidating [nekonsolidiruyushchiye] peoples. They emphasized the necessity of having the platform define more precisely the concept of national self-determination—the self-determination not of republics or of administrative-territorial formations but of nations and nationalities.

Participants in the meeting approved one postulate that was contained in the proposals submitted by the Armenian CP Central Committee—namely, that the CPSU Central Committee Plenum devoted to the radical restructuring of the party's nationality policy should make a principled political assessment of the events in Sumgait, Fergana, Novyy Uzen, and a number of other places where tensions in interethnic relations had led to

actions unthinkable under conditions of our society, which resulted in the loss of innocent lives. In connection with this, it is essential to add appropriate articles to criminal legislation mandating punishment for crimes committed on grounds of nationality, in particular acts of genocide, as stipulated by the United Nations Convention on Genocide, which was ratified by the USSR on 18 March 1954.

The fundamental principles of nationality policy approved by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum must be secured legislatively in the new USSR Constitution.

At the same time, participants in the meeting expressed profound disquiet in connection with the crisis situation that has developed in the region and the alarming position of the Armenian population of Nagornyy Karabakh. It was suggested that the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium immediately submit the issue to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the appropriate organs of the country, with the request and constitutional demand that the present explosive situation be normalized and effective guarantees be created to protect the safety of the population of Nagornyy Karabakh and all other Armenians living in Azerbaijan.

#### Kazakh CP CC Conference Held 18-19 Aug

##### Report on Conference

18300813 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian, 20 Aug 89 p 1

[KazTAG report: "Conference at the Kazakh CP Central Committee"]

[Text] On 18-19 August, the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee held a republic-wide conference of party gorkom and obkom first secretaries, in which secretaries of party committees functioning at the raykom level, secretaries and heads of departments of party organization and cadres work of party obkoms and high officials of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and of the republic's mass media also took part.

The conference was opened with the speech by First Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee N.A.Nazarbayev "On the Organization and Political Work of the Republic's Party Committees in the Conditions of Deepening Perestroika".

The following officials also spoke: Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M.P.Sagdiyev, on draft laws to change and amend the republic's constitution and upcoming elections to the state power bodies; Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee U.D.Dzhanibekov, on pressing issues in ideological work and goals of party committees related to them; First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosagroprom E.Kh.Gukasov, on the implementation of lease contract

in agriculture; and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosplan K.A.Abdullayev, on problems related to the shift to regional economic accountability by the republic.

A lively discussion on a wide range of topics followed. The following first secretaries of party gorkoms participated: Balakhash's U.Zhetenov, Tekeliysk's T.A.Ryabusova, Rudnensk's B.D.Muzhilevskiy and Shevchenko's N.I.Bayev; the following first secretaries of party raykoms: Novoshulbinskiy Rayon, Semipalatinsk Oblast's A.V.Rybchenkov, Priural'skiy Rayon, Uralsk Oblast's V.I.Baldin, Sergeevskiy Rayon, Severo-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast's M.A.Akhmetbekov, Merken'skiy Rayon, Dzhambul Oblast's A.A.Shupta, Kyzylkum'skiy Rayon, Chimgent Oblast's M.K.Shakenov, Moskovskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata's V.I.Kotel'nikov, Sovetskii Rayon, Alma-Ata's A.K.Kadyrbekova, Molodezhnyy Rayon, Karaganda Oblast's L.P.Mukin, Enbekshikazakhskiy Rayon, Alma-Ata Oblast's A.G.Gardt, Ruzalevskiy Rayon, Kokchetav Oblast's A.M.Sagitov, Terenozekskiy Rayon, Kzyl-Orda Oblast's Zh.Yerdes-hbayev, Sovetskii Rayon, Severo-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast's G.M.Bubnov, Martukskiy Rayon, Aktyubinsk Oblast's V.A.Litovchenko, Zaysanskiy Rayon, Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast's Z.Kh.Kuniyarov and Pavlodarskiy Rayon, Pavlodar Oblast's K.K.Ashim-betov; and First Secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee L.L.Kondybayev.

N.A.Nazarbayev summarized the results of the discussion.

Also participated in the conference Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee V.G.Anufriyev and First Secretary of the Alma-Ata party obkom K.Kh.Tyulebekov.

The conference's participants met with full and candidate members of the Kazakh Communist Party Buro and high officials of the republic's ministries and agencies and mass media.

##### Nazarbayev Speech

18300813 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian, 20 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[Speech by First Secretary of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee N.A.Nazarbayev at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Conference: "On the Organization and Political Work of the Republic's Party Committees in the Conditions of Deepening Perestroika"]

[Text] Comrades:

I think that we all acutely feel the need for the frank discussion for which we have gathered here. The situation unfolding in the country inevitably gives cause for concern to the entire Soviet people and especially to party members. Today, when our society is going through a critical point in perestroika, the unifying and consolidating role of the party and its ability to be at the



forefront of each and every process of revolutionary renewal become especially important.

Let be state this outright: in principle, I do not share the idea that the party has allegedly lost its leading role and that it lags behind progressive changes and trends in public life. If we look back at the past four years, we would not see a single important step on the path of perestroika that were not inspired and organized by the party.

From the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum to the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, in each of the major events which had an extremely positive impact on the course of development of society, party initiative was seen clearly and systematically. It was the party that developed the precise theoretical concepts of perestroika and identified the main directions of this extremely broad process in society's political, economic and spiritual structures. Thanks to the party, we now have a rational concept of new thinking, with glasnost, pluralism of opinions and a decisive shift to socialist democracy as its integral characteristics.

Quite naturally, in the course of perestroika people increasingly feel that they are masters of their own lives and want their opinions to count. This is why people not only trust the party more but also expect more of party workers and apparatus as well. This statement, incidentally, is corroborated by the climate at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. On the one hand, never before has the Congress and the country's Supreme Soviet included as many party members; on the other hand, never before has so much criticism of the party and its leaders been heard from the podium of the Kremlin Palace of Congress.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from this: while it unquestionably remains the political vanguard of society, the CPSU no longer has the kind of protective field which during the years of stagnation shielded many party officials from legitimate criticism and responsibility for erroneous, and at times immoral, conduct. Today, membership in the party entails readiness on the part of the individual to submit to extremely rigorous scrutiny by the people of words and deeds of all CPSU members. The time of artificial political complacency is gone forever.

In this respect, let us recall the words of V.I. Lenin, who said that a critical attitude to its own actions is indispensable to a revolutionary party and that arrogance would be fatal to it. With this in mind, the CPSU was the first to admit its errors honestly, and it boldly took the responsibility for them.

At the same time, the party decisively rejects carping and provocation attacks meant to split it from the people and convince the people that the entire history of the party is allegedly a chain of inevitable errors born of the omnipotence of the party apparatus.

First, the party is not only its apparatus but the 20 million communists as well. Second, we must fight not against the apparatus as such but against the bureaucratism, incompetence and indifference of those its employees who still live by the old dogma. In other words, we speak of renewing the party and restoring the health of the apparatus.

While it does not claim to be infallible and to have a monopoly on the truth, the CPSU does not give up its role as the ruling party. It is trying to prove its claim to this role by concrete deeds and calls on all layers of society and all intellectual forces to work together for the good of the country.

Today, the most important task is to choose our priorities and decide which means to use to achieve our goals. It is to resolve together these complex issues that the Buro of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee has decided to call this conference. In addition, the need for such a discussion stems from upcoming important political events. I mean here the reporting and election campaign in party organizations, campaigns to elect Kazakh SSR deputies and deputies to local soviets and preparations for the regular 28th CPSU Congress and the 17th Congress of the Kazakh Communist Party. You agree that all this calls for comprehensive and profound analysis.

#### **Social and Economic Problems: A Priority of Party Bodies**

If we analyze calmly and objectively the essence of criticism aimed at the party, we will have to admit that our opponents are right stating that in the conditions of a command administrative system many party committees have indeed noticeably weakened their vital connection with the masses and lost their ability to engage in a sincere dialogue with the people and to fire up people with the force of their convictions. It is no secret that today, against the background of widespread politization of the people, some party organizations almost seem to be the last preserves of dogmatic thought.

Today, everything is people's business, including the views of those who rule them. If people feel that party officials still lock themselves in their offices, avoid sincere discussions and label extremists all those who think differently, they would never trust the party. Hence, the main and necessary condition for restructuring party organizations is to reject once and for all monastic cell-like isolation, come out at last to the people and to prove in a live dialogue with it that the party's main goal is to satisfy fully the needs and demands of workers and to protect their basic interests.

Once people understand this and believe in it, we will have the right to say that we have learned to conduct party work in the conditions of broad democratization of public life and that we fully deserve to be called the political vanguard.



This approach should be the essence and the core of party work in every area. As to the priority area where party efforts should be applied, it is unquestionably in the socioeconomic sphere. Here, the crisis is at its most profound.

I could have accepted this as a given and concentrated on examples of excesses being overcome. But let us answer the question why this situation has arisen at all. Why do we regularly encounter unexpected, truly extreme problems which must be resolved on an emergency basis?

I think that the main cause of this is the fact that party organizations study and analyze public opinion very little. And yet it is the standard against which all party work must be measured. Disdain for the mood and the needs of the people cuts off party committees from the masses and leads to violations of the Leninist rule of always being aware of the will of the majority of workers.

Events in Novyy Uzen, Karaganda and other mining towns of Karaganda Oblast fully support this conclusion. Most legitimate demands of workers were strictly consumer-related and could have been met had party and Soviet entities paid proper attention to them before the indignation of some workers flared up. How indifferent those in power must have become to ignore for years complaints and requests of the common man!

At a recent meeting with representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsia, I cited glaring facts showing lack of elementary order in the work of many enterprises in retail trade, consumer services and offices of all kinds, where constantly, on a daily basis, people waste massive amounts of their work and leisure time, losing faith in social justice and hope that bureaucratic despotism could ever be reined in.

Recently, I asked to see a list of documents which various offices, departments and the militia require of the average resident of Alma-Ata. These are ordinary references needed to get a residence permit, to place a child into day care and for other everyday purposes. You may not believe me, but there were some 150 of them! On the spot, based only on common sense, I scratched out more than 50 of them. Later, I admitted to competent comrades that I might have been too hasty and in the heat of the moment got rid of some useful material. They checked it over carefully, thought about it and came back stating that everything was in order and that the system could function well without requiring those documents.

I insist, comrades, that you try this experiment when you get home. I am sure that you will find the same picture, for time is passing but no decisive corrections in useless procedures that poison people's lives have yet occurred.

How can we speak of the party's authority if people see that even the simple questions which require neither expenditure nor special effort are addressed extremely slowly. Numerous inconveniences in life which we, out of habit, call small nuisances, turn out to be a major

waste. It is no accident that this is the area of daily party work to which the CPSU Central Committee is directing our attention.

In his speech at the July conference with first secretaries of communist parties of the union republics, party kraykoms and obkoms, M.S. Gorbachev put it directly: "Today, we must build up our authority with our deeds, gaining even a small victory every day, every week and every month. Every day we must eliminate a shortage, solve an acute environmental problem or improve the work of public transit."

The conclusion here is that we should not spread our efforts thin or initiate too many projects at once. We must concentrate on 2 or 3 pressing economic problems and ensure their full solution on a priority basis. Choosing which problems to address is the responsibility of local party organizations. They know better which part of the social body hurts most. The only certain thing is that the selected priority area must concern the satisfaction of an elementary human need, be it housing, food, consumer goods or health care.

While speaking of the extreme importance of this work at the current stage of perestroika, I want to stress that it is only the short-term minimum program and it does not cover the entire range of party organizations' goals in the area of the economy. For perestroika to quicken its step, we must make sure that the new laws have been fully implemented since they embody the essence of economic reform.

We now have several legislative acts meant to bolster the independence of enterprises, to establish various forms of collective property, to abolish state and industry monopolies, to overcome the financial crisis, etc. However, results have been below our expectations. In reality, these good laws exist only on paper.

This has been noted not only by specialists who are, in a manner of speaking, versed in the secrets of economic science, but by the broad masses of workers. Along with demands to normalize living conditions, Karaganda miners, for instance, asked for better industrial and labor organization, sharply criticized obsolete planning methods and the unreliable material and technical supply system and stressed the need to radically change the system of managing industry enterprises.

In other words, they wanted the new perestroika economic laws—especially ones guaranteeing enterprises' independence—to cease being mere declarations and to become reality.

We have a paradoxical situation here. We speak of self-sufficiency, self-financing and regional economic accountability, but the basis of it all, enterprises' economic independence, is being blocked by the bureaucratic superstructure. The same situation exists in agriculture, where despite all efforts lease contracts are

catching up slowly and with difficulty, since management has no interest in seeing the peasant become independent and prosperous.

The number of enterprises and organizations in the republic working under lease contract was at the end of the first six months of the year as follows: 24 in industry, 16 in construction, 62 in retail trade and 6 in consumer services. In agriculture, only 187 leased farms have been established.

In some areas, officials are trying to deceive us, concealing the sorry plight of the new economic forms behind misleading statistics. For instance, according to statistical data, in industry alone more than 46,000 self-financing crews have been organized in the republic, comprised of 710,000 workers. In reality, however, only a little more than one third of all crews have switched to self-financing and only 8 percent of them have switched to contractual work.

Who benefits by building such Potemkin villages? Who wants to create the appearance of success behind which everything would remain unchanged? I do not think there is any need to ponder the question too long, since the answer lies on the surface. Those people are opposed to the new economic system who, as a result of economic accountability, will lose power, position and an opportunity to earn a good living without making much effort. In other words, I mean some people in management who will become unemployed as a result of lease contract.

This gives rise to the strategic goal of directing the full force of party influence to undermine the bureaucratic armor which continues to constrain popular initiative and intractably resists the people's desire to live in a new way. We must find out who it is exactly who places obstacles in the path of lessees, decent cooperators and workers who want to introduce viable economic management forms. We must find this out and tear down artificial dams preventing the natural progress of new economic processes. This, in my opinion, is the very essence of party economic leadership at this point.

There is no time to waste. To enter the 13th five-year plan period with a rejuvenated economy, it has been decided to introduce self-management and self-financing for the republic not in 1991 as was planned earlier, but starting in 1990. Frankly speaking, we need a testing ground of sorts, where we would get all our black eyes and bumps and start the new five-year plan in full armor, with all the necessary skills and experience in hand.

Yet, the republic consists of oblasts and oblasts of cities and rayons. This is why we have the right to ask the party committee secretaries in this room: what have you done, comrades, at the city and rayon level to start managing your local economies on your own?

This is not an idle question. Very soon you will hear it in all its intensity from your own party members and all workers who—you may be sure of it—will not be content with general statements. They will ask for a full report on

what has been done, since economic accountability is not an abstraction but a concept that is closely tied to reality and to people's living standard. The old adage about the brave who get things to eat will have to be forgotten, as will the old habit of going hat in hand to republic entities for various handouts.

Starting today, you should account for every ruble earned in your city or rayon. Using political persuasion methods based on precise economic calculations, you must patiently explain to the people how you will earn a living in new conditions and what needs to be done to live better, happier and in a more civilized manner.

I am glad that some regions have already begun this work without waiting for orders or directives. For instance, the Temirtau party gorkom (A.N.Katyshev party secretary) deserves our praise. The city has already established a regional interindustry association, defined responsibilities of various agencies, allocated their staffs and identified sources of funding for municipal programs. In addition, the city has set rates which enterprises will pay the city for the use of its labor resources and differentiated rents for the use of land; it has also set fines for emitting environmental pollutants.

Unfortunately, this situation is far from universal. A number of oblasts, not to mention cities and rayons, either have not begun preparations at all or have been conducting them very slowly.

I urge you all to monitor this work personally, to speed it up and to make sure that everybody understands how important and how necessary it is for implementing economic reform and, in the final analysis, for the future of the republic and the fate of perestroika.

#### To Affirm Political Leadership Methods

The next group of topics I would like to discuss relates to the style and methods of party work in new social and political conditions. The central problem here is the need to split the functions of party, soviet and economic entities.

I will not dwell on the theoretical aspects of the problem: they have been fully explained in M.S.Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee on 18 July. Let me say only that the new system of interaction between the party and the soviets is an extremely important component of political reform under way in the country; the extent to which it develops will have a crucial impact on the end result of efforts of socialist renewal.

However, a great gap lies between understanding the objective need to divide functions and putting it into practice. Analysis shows that the implementation of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" has stretched out too long and that party entities continue to supplant soviets in a new, somewhat camouflaged form. A great majority of first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms are still directly involved in economic decision-making and

assume administrative and managerial functions when faced with various conflict situations.

Actually, in some places it is not even deemed necessary to hide this practice for the sake of appearances. The desire to rule everything by decree is apparent, for instance, in the activities of the Dengizskiy Rayon, Guryev Oblast, party raykom (M.T.Yerkegulov first secretary), where the buro passed 24 decisions on economic matters and 11 joint resolutions with the rayispolkom. Is this the way to encourage soviet entities to be independent?

Or take the document passed by the buro of the Yermakovo party gorkom (V.V.Volchkov first secretary) under the cumbersome title "On the Work of Party Organizations and Sovkhoz Managers to Mobilize Labor Collectives to Successfully Complete the 1988-89 Wintering Season in the Cattle Industry in Light of Goals Specified, etc." It is not only that the title reeks of rank bureaucracy; the resolution itself contains nary a hint of political methods.

We will never achieve restructuring in party economic management if we pay attention only to appearances and not touch the essence of the problem. Can we seriously expect positive results only because purely economic topics on the agenda of buro and party committee meetings everywhere are now termed reports by managers who happen to be party members? In reality, they are no different from the kind of pep talk that was common until recently.

Party bodies must once and for all realize that they have one right only: to demand party responsibility of party members who work in the soviets and in the economy. They should call upon them to carry out their duties not only behind closed doors, at the meeting of the raykom or gorkom buro, but using the press, television and radio so that the people know that their responsibility is uncompromizing.

The time will soon come when we will have to address the issue of dividing functions not only in the economy but in public, legal and spiritual life, and do so not abstractly and in theory, but in practice. We have not even been thinking about it, even though we should expect even greater difficulties in those areas. If we do not learn the early lessons, the complex science of political leadership may prove difficult to master in the future.

In short, to solve economic problems party committees and their leaders must steadily isolate the political component. It consists not only of setting a goal and achieving it but, most importantly, of making sure that the means by which that goal is achieved are the right ones.

When speaking of the interaction of the party and the soviets, we must mention the issue of combining the positions of chairman of the soviet and of first secretary

of the party committee in the same person. As is well-known, the 19th Party Conference recommended this principle for the purpose of enhancing the role of representative entities. However, different interpretations of the principle have emerged both during and after the conference.

Based on the analysis of public opinion and the sociopolitical situation in the country, M.S.Gorbachev in his speech at the above-mentioned CPSU Central Committee conference stressed that the political directive of the party conference on combining the positions of first secretary of the party committee and of chairman of the soviet is not obligatory. He proposed to resolve this issue based on actual local political conditions.

When assessing the progress of perestroika objectively, it becomes absolutely clear that its moving force is still at the higher level of authority. In other words, the main impetus for revolutionary renewal flows from the top down, and not the other way around. It is natural, therefore, that democratic changes at the local level have been moving more slowly than at the center. In these conditions, if power were concentrated in one hands at the rayon, city and oblast level, it would not help accelerate perestroika processes. We would be more likely to achieve the opposite, which would, of course, be highly undesirable.

It would be much more democratic if any deputy enjoying popular support, and regardless of his party membership or position, could become chairman of the local soviet. Such an approach is fully in line with the Constitution and corresponds to the current stage of perestroika.

Very soon the issue of power will be decided in the upcoming elections to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies. What are the main objectives of party committees and organizations in the course of the election campaign?

The most important one is to make sure that the deputies corps truly represents voters and that the deputies are capable of working in soviet entities in the conditions of perestroika. Party organizations must make sure that such deputies are elected who would be able to defend the interests of the people, are deeply convinced of the need for renewal and support perestroika.

The lessons of the previous elections must be taken into account: party committees must not be tentative and timid in their actions. It is no secret that the years of absolute political complacency have hurt us. It turned out that many of us had effectively lost their ability to wage political struggle. When deputies' seats began attracting various careerists and demagogues, few party bodies were able to give them the response they deserved. Some even tried to justify their inaction by claiming that the party should not be meddling in the democratic process and influence its results.

Everywhere in the world the main goal and purpose of every party are to strive for power. All activities of party staffs from election to election serve this goal. Why should we assume a conciliatory, defensive stance? Why should we be afraid to defend our candidates openly, honestly and loudly? Are party members devoted to perestroika and to the interests of the masses not truly respected by the people?

We must quit being so shy and radically turn away from passive methods of propaganda and agitation which are no longer effective in today's situation. Party workers must learn how to fight for their candidates and highlight their deeds, party maturity and ability to defend the interests of the people.

We must not forget also that many important socioeconomic issues and pressing consumer and environmental problems will be raised in the course of the election campaign. This means that along with propaganda activities, party committees should turn their attention to these problem spots and obligate soviet and economic bodies to make greater progress in finding solutions to them. Without carrying out these concrete actions, it would be difficult to count on the support of the people and hope to defend our right to be in the vanguard of perestroika.

Speaking of political leadership methods, we should mention also the issue of the party's relations with union organizations. Our influence on them should be primarily effected through communists who work there. Not by monitoring their every step, as has often been done in the past, but by relying on the conscience and responsibility of CPSU members.

We should keep in mind that the role and place of trade unions are changing considerably in the ongoing sociopolitical processes. Let us take, for instance, their part in carrying out radical economic reform. In this area, we see the problems of introducing new forms of economic management and protecting the interests of workers. The latter are, first of all, issues related to remuneration and supply of food and consumer goods. They also include such issues as work safety, social security, living conditions and leisure facilities. In other words, these belong to the range of issues which directly impact the morale and the psychological climate at labor collectives and which often create serious social tensions, as has happened in Karaganda.

During those troubled days I had dozens of meetings with miners at rallies, enterprises and strike committees. And let me say this: I did not hear one good word about local union leaders. What does it mean? It means first of all that our party work in the area of selecting and placing human resources is frequently extremely poor. Why hide it, union positions usually get staffed using the so-called remainder principle. If a person has not distinguished himself in party or soviet work, let him go to the unions and work there until he retires.

This may be too blunt and I may have offended some people, but such is the truth. No matter how you look at it, there is clear evidence of lapses in cadres work. Today, we reap the bitter fruit of our short-sighted policy in this area.

And yet, there are plenty of people of the kind we need. In Karaganda, as I sat there listened to members of the strike committee, the same thought kept crossing my mind: these young, energetic, smart kids, these aggressive kids in the good sense of the word, should be working in the union. They would turn mountains. At the very least, they would turn bureaucratically minded leaders toward problems facing the working class. These are the people among whom we should patiently seek cadres, to make sure that unions are headed by men whom people know and trust.

Instead, we usually root among nomenklatura resumes, forgetting that it is not the resume but the true leadership qualities that make a leader in the unions, and not in the unions alone. I think that we should make good use of the reporting and election campaign underway in the unions to correct old mistakes and to infuse fresh blood into the workers' movement. V.I. Lenin was correct describing trade unions as the school of communism.

Clarity should also be introduced into the issue of party direction of komsomol. Party committees must never dictate anything to komsomol organizations or meddle into their day-to-day activities. On the other hand, we retain the right to assess processes occurring in the youth organization, to call communists working there to account and to give kind, discrete advice.

Now, when komsomol is conducting its reporting and election campaign and when its leadership organizations are being staffed, assistance to bolster the VLKSM organizationally and politically should be viewed as an essential task. We must make sure that respected young communists and progressive young supporters of revolutionary perestroika are invited to work in komsomol committees.

The most urgent and the least studied area of political work among the masses is unofficial organizations. Frankly speaking, their intense growth, reflecting the diversity of interests in society, has made the life of party committees much more difficult, while also clearly revealing that many are not yet ready to work in the climate of pluralism of opinion.

I will not discuss that very well-defined range of unofficial groups comprised of politically near-sighted and ideologically immature individuals which have become a tool of achieving illicit aims in the hands of corrupt elements and unscrupulous manipulators from the underworld. Their case is clear.

As to public entities whose activity is carried out in accordance with the Constitution and does not harm the

interests of Soviet society, in their case it is very important to reject familiar stereotypes for the sake of harnessing as much as possible the energy and the civic-mindedness of the masses for the service of perestroika. We must accept the ardent desire of men to be free and their search for their own, individual interpretation of perestroika processes.

Experience has shown that many proposals originated from below may be put into practice immediately and with great results. But in the beginning we fought such proposals tooth and nail and shunned unofficial movements like the devil shuns incense. Even now, relations which them are far from idyllic.

Naturally, the path to mutual understanding is not easy. But to shorten it, we must learn to appreciate activists and not see them as rabble rousers. In short, we must listen to the voice of the people and be grateful to its unofficial representatives who bravely assume the role of leaders and express the will of various social groups.

#### **To Struggle for Further Development of Party Democracy**

To have the moral right to lead society, the party must be at least a step ahead of it on the path to the goal. But we at times march in place, lag behind or bring up the rear in processes which have long become the hallmark of the fast-developing public life. Primarily this concerns democratization and glasnost in party committees, their independence in the framework of democratic pluralism and openness to criticism.

When searching for the roots of conservatism and analyzing reasons why some party officials are so clumsy and slow in reacting to new ideas, one becomes convinced that the problem lies in the type of the obedient, unenterprising executive that has long been cultivated in the party, one who is always ready to carry out any directive from above—carefully, precisely but totally unemotionally. Such a human automaton was the ideal of the administrative bureaucratic system and the pinnacle of its creation.

Some may counter that today one can no longer meet such types anywhere in party committees, that they have all been swept away. Indeed, in the years of perestroika we have thoroughly shaken up the cadres and have been able to rid ourselves of the most ardent supporters of stagnation, but it is a well-known fact that people come and go but traditions endure. Have we eradicated completely the nomenklatura resume approach to selecting personnel or not? Are we completely cured of our predilection for office and paper work?

Here is an actual example. Nine gorkom and raykom first secretaries and an equal number of city rayispolkom chairmen, all promoted since the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum, have already been replaced. Last year alone, 215 officials belonging to the obkom nomenklatura and over 1,000 of employees of party raykoms and gorkoms were fired.

Among them were some who openly violated party norms. Take for instance a far-from-complete list of reasons for the dismissal of the former first secretary of the Urdzharskiy Rayon, Semipalatinsk Oblast, raykom N.A.Redchenko: gross violation of the principles of cadres and nationality policies, protection of dishonest managers, attempts to use a raykom plenum to refute just criticism in the press undertaken with the excuse of safeguarding the honor of the uniform, etc. Is this not a little too much for one person? Did we need to gather so rich a collection of negative facts in order to see what kind of a person is at the helm of a rayon?

The recent decision to broaden significantly the upcoming reporting and election campaign in party organizations, and to open it up everywhere to include reports by soviet, komsomol, union and law enforcement entities' managers to labor collectives, workers and all people, has been a timely and topical one. Let the people hear what its leaders have to say, say openly what it thinks of them and if need be dismiss those who have betrayed its trust. I am certain that this action would purify considerably the leadership body and help us promote honest, respected and conscientious people. The people must have a true right not only to choose its leaders but to dismiss them as well.

Otherwise one gets the impression that some party organizations spend more time talking about glasnost and democratization than putting them into action. It is no secret that party officials have become rather entrenched in their view that to select cadres openly, with the help of public opinion, would mean to surrender power. What authority would a party committee have, they reason, if it could not appoint or dismiss a manager without conferring with party members? Is there any need to explain that such views have nothing to do with concern for true authority and that they not only do not raise, but lower the reputation of party entities.

The Pavlodar party obkom recommended for the position of chairman of the Pavlodarskiy Rayon soviet ispolkom one V.K.Rudi, who for more than 10 years headed the kolkhoz imeni Kirov in the same rayon. It was a successful candidacy and after appropriate discussions he was elected rayon ispolkom chairman. At that point, an unusual situation arose. The collective farmers, who knew nothing about their chairman being proposed for the position, categorically refused to let him go. I think they did the right thing, if only by teaching party leaders a lesson in democracy.

Another important issue of party life is the need to bring new blood into our cadres. But for the transition to be accomplished smoothly we need, as M.S.Gorbachev has suggested, talented, modern-thinking young people to constantly swirl around party committees. In other words, we need to attract young party members and skillfully instill in them the taste for party work.

On the other hand, would it be normal if party committees were comprised of totally unprepared members

whose only merit were their youth? However, many party gorkoms and raykoms of Taldy-Kurgan, Aktyubinsk, Kustanay, Karaganda, Pavlodar, Guryev and Semipalatinsk Oblasts appoint party instructors with less than a year of party experience. And the Katon-Karagayskiy Rayon, Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast, party raykom set an absolute record of hastiness: they approved as instructor a young man who had received his party card literally one minute before.

And yet, the instructor is the central figure in any party committee. What can he teach and whom can he instruct if he himself lacks adequate political experience and knowledge of methods and techniques of party work?

Any party apparatus member, from secretary to instructor, must be known in the district. Not only among party members but among the people as well. This is why it is important to elect and appoint party officials openly, taking the opinion of the people into account.

For the sake of objectivity it should be noted that until recently it was more difficult to choose qualified party workers due to low salaries. This obstacle has been removed. I am happy to report that starting 1 October, salaries of party workers will increase considerably. Consequently, we now have a chance to staff party apparatuses with competent people.

In this respect, the following point should be made. New salary rates will not be rigidly fixed, as they were before, but will have the so-called fork feature. This is being done to differentiate the remuneration of employees taking into account their experience and qualifications, putting an end to the erstwhile practice of equalization. From now on we will have a real lever to encourage people to do good work, and it must be used to full advantage.

Now a few words about party discipline, without which, as is well known, no mature party democracy is conceivable. Unfortunately, this elementary truth is frequently not only forgotten but is consciously obscured by those who, under the guise of dismantling the command bureaucratic system, want to destroy one of the core principles of party building, that of democratic centralism. What I mean is the increasingly insistent calls on the part of certain political extremists from the Baltic republics to turn the CPSU into a federation of independent parties and to weaken party discipline.

In this issue, we must take a principled stand and clearly know when we are dealing with the true concern for democratization in the party and when with the desire to undermine its unity.

Let me state it frankly: in my opinion, excessive centralization of party relations has become an anachronism. However, the need to eliminate this negative phenomenon and constructive debate over issues of giving more independence to the parties of the union republic have

nothing to do with calls to split the CPSU. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an indivisible political body whose unity is the guarantee of the unity of our multi-ethnic socialist state.

I would not want, however, to create the impression that the issue of party discipline concerns us only on a global scale. We have plenty of our own, local problems and we are still a long way from solving them. A legitimate alarm has been caused, for instance, by the fact that some party committees have become less stern toward party members who commit various acts incompatible with membership in the CPSU.

In the Severo-Kazakhstanskaya Oblast, 130 sanctions imposed by grassroot party organizations have been overruled as too liberal. In 23 cases, communists were allowed to remain in the CPSU after committing common crimes, whereas the issue of party membership of 60 other criminals was not even raised.

Some party committees turn a blind eye to those who stifle criticism. For several years, N.Martyshev, an employee of the southeastern department of the Central Institute of Agrochemical Agricultural Services, due to his legitimate criticism has been subjected to persecutions instigated by Yu.Papenko, the director of that institution. The latter has involved dozens of people in this unseemly squabble. Yet, despite full knowledge of this, neither the Kaskalenskiy Rayon party raykom nor the Alma-Ata gorkom have had the guts to cut the overbearing manager down to size, to come to the aid of a principled individual and to restore, at long last, the normal moral and psychological climate in the collective.

Negative tendencies have emerged in the work of strengthening the ranks of the CPSU and infusing new blood into the party. Instances of candidates refusing to join the party have become more frequent and the number of members wanting to leave the CPSU has increased. Only in the past six months, 665 members returned their party cards. These alarming phenomena must be analyzed in depth and an explanation must be found. It seems that we have here a process which is the result of the unjustifiably rapid expansion of party ranks and insufficiently principled approach to the qualitative side of the membership during the years of stagnation.

Perestroika is a revolutionary process that radically crushes stereotypes about socialism as a whole as well as about the role of the party in social and political life. It is natural that party members reevaluate their function. As a result, some actively join perestroika processes, others hesitate, and others still decide that the previously selected frame of references does not meet their needs and does not correspond to the world view that they have formed.

We should, of course, make sure that the social makeup of the region is properly reflected in the party's rank and file, but not by bureaucratic means. All quotas should

have long been sent to the archives, while those who still show predilection for these obsolete ideas must be made to see the light.

On the other hand, the process of induction into the party should be conducted openly, and candidacies must always be discussed in their labor collectives. Let everyone without exception, both party members and not, express their honest opinion on the future communist and his positive and negative qualities. Only in this case will the ranks of the CPSU get healthy, strong reinforcements, will be filled with true fighters ready to defend the line and the ideals of the party, ones who would not tolerate a lie and who live by the interests and aspirations of the people.

A few words are now in order on that aspect of gorkoms' and raykoms' work which effects interaction with grassroot party organizations.

More than five years have passed since the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum, but one can still hear communists and non-members say that perestroyka has not yet started in their backyard. And it is not simply the usual tendency to complain and be pessimistic that causes such talk. We must honestly admit that it is here, at the level of grassroot party organizations, that perestroyka is spinning its wheels.

In the past, the passivity of grassroot organizations was often ascribed to the total veto and rigid regulation of their activities on the part of their superior party committees. People complained of excessive regulation of party meetings which were staged as though in a well-travelled rut, avoiding almost totally all topical, extremely important issues. Many critical comments and proposals remained on paper. So-called pocket secretaries, ones who would not speak out against administrative fiat, flourished.

All these vices survive. However, a dangerous antipode to the erstwhile over-regulation has emerged, which I would call a surrender of rights. It has emerged because many raykoms and gorkoms have taken the demand to give maximum independence to grassroot organizations to its extreme and completely stopped paying attention to them. The Tselinograd party gorkom (A.I.Kosenko first secretary), for instance, has been told on several occasions that it neglected its work in this area. The role of party meetings is extremely low here, and a third of CPSU members do not even participate in adopting and implementing their decisions. However, no substantive changes in the practice of running the city's grassroot organizations have been made.

Nor has the Shevchenko party gorkom (N.I.Bayev first secretary) been able to rely on its grassroot organizations or to involve them in perestroyka processes. Is it any surprise that the passivity of the party organization has shown its least appealing side? For instance, at the labor collective of the transport department and that of the plastics plant, instances gross violations of labor and

industrial discipline have shot up sharply. To achieve selfish group aims, these collectives have stooped so low as to threaten a strike.

These are alarming symptoms. If we cannot urgently change the existing practice of interaction between gorkoms and raykoms on the one hand and grassroot party organizations on the other, we would not achieve significant improvements in our work. People will go on comparing perestroyka with a rustling forest: a loud noise at the top while at the bottom not even a blade of grass stirs.

### **To Develop Creatively and to Defend Decisively Leninist Nationality Policy Principles**

Comrades! We are approaching an important sociopolitical event, the CPSU Central Committee Plenum which will consider one of the most painful and most pressing issues of the current stage in our life, that of interethnic relations.

Every Soviet citizen is truly alarmed and troubled by the situation in this area. Events in Nagornyy Karabakh and Sumgait, Fergana and Abkhazia, Novyy Uzen and the Baltic republics, despite all their differences and special characteristics have one thing in common. Namely, they undermine the faith of the Soviet people in interethnic unity, stir up nationalist and chauvinist hysteria and destabilize the political situation in the country.

In these complex and in my opinion dangerous to perestroyka conditions, the republic's party committees must be especially vigilant; they must become a consolidating, unifying centers not only for party members but for workers of all nationalities without exception. This is especially important as extremists, who stand on narrowly nationalistic positions, have intensified their pressure on party committees and are trying to neutralize their influence on the masses.

As you know from the press, such attempts have succeeded in some places. In the Baltic republics, for instance, some party committees have laid down their arms, abandoned political struggle and even switched sides, adopting the position of public movements alien to internationalist principles. Some party members seem lost or go along with the flow, and others are even ready to split along ethnic lines.

We must not tolerate a least sign of complacency in this issue, much less listen to irresponsible and immoral calls of those who are trying to impose on us their experience through their emissaries. Who else but residents of a multi-ethnic republic like ourselves should protect and cherish the feeling of sincere companionship among neighbors, and mutual understanding and mutual respect of nationalities?

This is why it is especially sad to realize that there are people here who are all too ready to forget the perils of interethnic strife, even though they see plenty of dramatic examples in various regions of the country. I think



that under no circumstance must we allow actions that could potentially plant the seed of distrust and suspicion among members of different nationalities.

I am convinced that the artistic and scientific intelligentsia and all residents of Kazakhstan will see the risks of poorly thought-out, irresponsible actions in the current very troubled situation, will listen to the voice of reason and civic conscience and will lend their full support to all that brings people together rather than locks them in their separate national cells.

This must be the position of every party member, and every citizen who holds dear the honor and the good name of his people. The Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party defends this position, and will always do so in the future, while demanding that all party committees in the republic enforce this line, which is the only correct one.

The same rigorous standard must be applied when assessing actions of party members working in the media. A word uttered on the air or printed in a newspaper or a magazine has enormous power and significance, especially in interethnic issues. In this regard, I want to remind you of a very astute observation: every journalist taking on the issue of interethnic relations must think not only how he will write it but also how people will read it.

An edifying example of a subtle and measured approach to solving complex interethnic issues is the recently published draft program of the party on nationality policy in the present conditions. This document, which was previously discussed by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, contains qualitatively new, bold and at the same time thoroughly thought-out ideas intended to diffuse today's conflicts as well as to solve the long-term problems of our multi-ethnic Soviet condominium.

Very soon the Kazakh SSR draft law on languages will be published in the press; a large group of scientists, specialists and cultural figures of the republic have worked on it for a long time. I do not want to give it a final assessment here. This is the prerogative of Kazakhstan residents to whose judgement it will be submitted. Let me note only that the legal basis of the law differs significantly from concepts underlying similar laws passed in other republics insofar as it bolsters the internationalist essence of that basis. The main criterium guiding the authors of the new draft law was the profound thought that the true well-being of the people whose name the republic bears can not be achieved by means of infringing on the rights and liberties of members of other nationalities.

The public correctly sees that the language of the indigenous nationality will be protected only by a radical step, that of recognizing its status as the state language. But having taken that step, we must also guarantee free development of the languages of other nationalities. At the same time, Russian, as the language of interethnic communication, will be able to perform its functions

properly. As before, it will have the role of a powerful intellectual potential of every ethnic group and every individual.

In short, regardless of the conclusions reached by the public in the course of the debate over the draft law on the language, this question will be resolved only on an internationalist basis. We will not allow the rights of any nationality living in the republic to be violated and its spiritual values, especially its language, trampled upon. Our position in this issue is immutable.

Comrades! In conclusion I want to stress once again that the turning point of perestroika, probably its most complex stage, is upon us. The party, which means all of us, is collectively taking a difficult test on our ability to work productively in the new, very complex conditions of public life. The people will grade us.

The time itself calls not for assurances that one is devoted to perestroika ideas but for actual deeds to put them into practice. People must see that the party is aware of the pressing problems and that it does not run away from difficulties but confidently and boldly is seeking solutions.

#### **Kazakh CP CC Plenum Resolution on Situation in Baltic Republics**

*18300840a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 1*

[Resolution of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee's 16th Plenum on the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Republics of the Soviet Baltic]

[Text] 1. To note that Kazakhstan's party members and workers accepted the CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Situation in the Republics of the Soviet Baltic and the speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet M.S.Gorbachev on Moscow television as a call to preserve the united family of Soviet peoples. The statements objectively reflected the full complexity of the situation and expressed concern for the fate of the people, the unity of our common homeland and the future of perestroika.

The Kazakh Communist Party Plenum is convinced that measures taken on the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee to breathe new life into socialism in our country and interethnic relations based on the CPSU draft program on nationalities policy are in the interests of the Soviet people and can be implemented only under the leadership of the party, based on strengthening the economic and political sovereignty of the republics within the Soviet Union. The Kazakh SSR has actively joined the processes of profound changes and will always faithfully follow the course of broadening mutual ties with other union republics and true economic accounting in the framework of a rejuvenated union federation.



2. To approve assessments and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee contained in the Statement on the Situation in the Republics of the Soviet Baltic and the speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet M.S.Gorbachev on Moscow television, viewing them as the only way to resolve the accumulated negative problems in the area of interethnic relations and to bolster the interethnic unity of the USSR peoples, the greatest achievement of the Soviet people.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee objects to any restrictions on the rights of Soviet peoples based on their nationality.

3. To urge party obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms and grass-root organizations to discuss during September and October of this year the CPSU Central Committee Statement and the CPSU draft program "The Party's Nationalities Policy in Present Conditions" at their meetings, where all necessary conditions must be created for an open exchange of opinions, for every communist to state honestly and directly, realizing his full responsibility for the fate of our country, his party position with respect to events occurring in the Soviet Baltic and other regions of the country.

The results of the discussion will be reviewed by party committees, who will define and implement measures to coordinate efforts by the republic's labor collectives to strengthen the fraternal friendship of USSR peoples.

4. To ask the Kazakh Council of Trade Unions and the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee to organize a broad discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Statement at union and komsomol meetings.

5. To order party committees and grassroot organizations in the republic to bolster party discipline and organizational structures of communists and all workers, to prevent nationalist or extremist outbreaks and to find timely solutions to the task of building up interethnic relations.

To instruct party members working in soviet, economic and law enforcement entities to take exhaustive measures to bolster state and labor discipline and intensify their struggle against drunkenness, drug abuse and theft of socialist property. They must also provide active support to provisional committees to combat crime.

6. Editors of newspapers, television and radio must extensively report on the discussions of the CPSU Central Committee Statement and the CPSU draft program on nationalities policy, explain from an internationalist point of view the causes of intensified interethnic frictions and the spirit and the letter of measures taken by the party to normalize those relations, prevent the spread of provocational rumors and lies which excite people, and give a principle reply to all adventurers or antisocialist forces.

The Kazakh Communist Party Plenum considers it necessary to enforce its line of defending Soviet socialist federalism and of bringing together all healthy forces in society to oppose separatism, extremism, outbreaks of chauvinism and nationalism and all attempts to split the fraternal family of our country.

#### **Kazakh SSR Decrees on New Appointments**

18300840b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 17 Sep 89 p 1

[Decrees of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issued 16 September 1989; biographies of appointees]

#### **[Text] Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Appointment of Comrade Omerbayeva K.S. Deputy Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers**

The KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

To appoint Comrade **Omerbayeva Kumuszhana Sagyndykovna** Deputy Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

*Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M.Sagdiyev*

*For the Secretary, Member of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium A.Arystanbekova*

#### **OMERBAYEVA, Kumuszhana Sagyndykovna**

Omerbayeva, Kumuszhana Sagyndykovna, was born in 1943 in the village of Krasnokutsk, Krasnokutskiy Rayon, Pavlodar Oblast. She is a Kazakh and has been a CPSU member since 1965. She has completed higher education, with degrees from the Kazakh State Pedagogical Institute imeni Abay and the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

She started her working career in 1960 as a teacher at the Berezhovo eight-grade school in Kachirskiy Rayon, Pavlodar Oblast. In 1961-71 she worked in komsomol, as director of the schools department, second secretary and first secretary of the Kachirskiy Rayon raykom and secretary of the Pavlodar Oblast komsomol obkom. From 1971 to 1975 she was a lecturer of the Pavlodar obkom, secretary of the Pavlodarskiy Rayon raykom and secretary of the Pavlodar party gorkom. During the next seven years she was an instructor at the Foreign Relations Department and sector director at the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. In 1982 she was elected secretary of the Taldy-Kurgansk party obkom. Since January 1989 she has been secretary of the Kazakh Council of Trade Unions.

She was awarded the Mark of Honor order and various medals.

**Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Appointment of First Deputy of the Kazakh SSR State Agricultural Industry Committee Comrade Shvets V.V. Kazakh SSR Minister**

The KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

To appoint First Deputy of the Kazakh SSR State Agricultural Industry Committee Comrade Shvets, Vasiliy Vasilyevich, Kazakh SSR Minister.

*Chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium M.Sagdiyev*

*For the Secretary, Member of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium A.Arystanbekova*

**SHVETS, Vasiliy Vasilyevich**

Shvets, Vasiliy Vasilyevich, was born in 1939 in the village of Teklevka, Shargorodskiy Rayon, Vinnitsa Oblast. He is a Ukrainian and has been a CPSU member since 1986. He has completed higher education, with a degree from the Tselinograd Agricultural Institute.

He began his working career in 1959. He worked as an accountant, chief bookkeeper and chief accountant for Vinnitsa Oblast collective farms. In 1962-71 he was chief accountant of a sovkhoz and deputy director of the agricultural administration of the Arykbalykskiy Rayon, Kokchetava Oblast, ispolkom. From 1962 to 1984 he worked at various Tselinograd Oblast farms as chief accountant, chairman of the rayispolkom planning commission, director of an experimental and technical laboratory and chief engineer. Since 1984, he has been chief accountant of the Tselinograd Oblast sovkhoz imeni M.Mametova.

He has various state awards.

**Biographical Data on Three Kazakh CP CC Secretaries**

*18300840c Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Sep 89 p 1*

[Biographical data on three Kazakh SSR Communist Party Secretaries]

**[Text] Second Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee ANUFRIYEV, Vladislav Grigoryevich**

Comrade Anufriyev was born in 1937 in the city of Bugulma, Tatar ASSR. He is a Russian and has been a CPSU member since 1969. He has completed higher education, with degrees from the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy, the Kiev Economic Institute and the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences.

He began his working career in 1956 as a wire drawer at the "Ukrkabel" plant in Kiev. Upon graduating from the agricultural academy in 1962 he worked as senior and then chief animal technician at the Osakarovskiy agricultural production trust, deputy director and director of the agricultural administration in the Osakarovskiy Rayon ispolkom. In 1973-74 he was deputy director of the agricultural department of the Karaganda party obkom and then chairman of the Osakarovskiy Rayon

ispolkom. In 1975-77 he was first secretary of the Nurinskiy party raykom and head of the Karaganda Oblast ispolkom's agricultural administration. In 1977 he was elected secretary of the Karaganda party obkom and in 1985 appointed head of the Department of Agriculture and Food Industry of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. In 1986-88, he was first secretary of the Taldy-Kurgan party obkom. Since November 1988 he has been secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

He is a USSR people's deputy and was awarded the orders of the October Revolution, the Labor Red Banner, Friendship of the Peoples and Mark of Honor, as well as several medals.

**Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee ASANBAYEV, Yerik Magzumovich**

Comrade Asanbayev was born in 1936 in the village of Baygabul, Amangeldinskiy Rayon, Kustanay Oblast. He is a Kazakh and has been a CPSU member since 1967. He has completed higher education, with a degree from the Kazakh State University imeni S.M.Kirov and a doctorate in economic sciences.

He began his working career in 1958 as an economist at the industrial finance administration of the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Finance, and later taught at the Kazakh State University. In 1960-63 he studied in the graduate program of the Moscow Finance Institute and after finishing it worked as director of the financial planning problems and production expenditures department and the industry balance department of the KaSSR Gosplan's Economics Research Institute. In 1967-79 he was head of the department of new planning and economic incentive department of the republic's Gosplan, deputy finance minister, director of the finance, labor and wages department and deputy administrator of the KaSSR Council of Ministers. In 1979 he was appointed director of the Department of Retail Trade, Planning and Finance Entities, later reorganized into the Department of Retail Trade and Consumer Services, of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. In 1983-88 he was deputy administrator of the KaSSR Council of Ministers and director of the Department of Science and Educational Institutions and of the Economics Department of the Kazakh Communist party Central Committee. Since June 1988 he has been Deputy Chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers.

He is a KaSSR people's deputy and was awarded the order Mark of Honor as well as several medals.

**Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee DVURECHENSKIY, Valentin Ivanovich**

Comrade Dvurechenskiy was born in 1936 in the village of Bolshaya Alekseyevka, Izberdeyevskiy Rayon, Tambov Oblast. He is a Russian and has been a CPSU member since 1966. He has completed higher education, with degrees from the Fruit and Vegetables Institute imeni I.V.Michurin and the USSR Economic Academy.

He began his working career in 1962 as chief agronomist of sovkhozes "Razdolnyy" and "Burevestnik" at the Naurzumskiy Rayon Agricultural Administration in Kustanay Oblast. In 1970-74 he was director of the sovkhoz "Shevchenkovskiy" in Dzhetysayinskii Rayon. Between 1974 and 1981 he was first deputy director and director of the Kustanay Oblast Production Administration of Sovkhozes. After graduating from the USSR Economic Academy in 1983 he was elected first secretary of the Urtskiy raykom, and since November 1985 has been second secretary of the Kustanay party obkom.

He is a KaSSR Supreme Soviet deputy and was awarded the orders of Lenin, the Labor Red Banner and Mark of Honor, as well as several medals.

#### **Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Decree on Tasks of Deputies**

18300812 KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian  
1 Aug 89 p 1

[Decree of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet on the Tasks of the Republic's Soviets of People's Deputies Concerning the Reinforcement of Government and Labor Discipline Under Conditions of Democratization and Openness, 28 July 1989]

[Text] The Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet observes that, consistently implementing the course drawn up at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference for the acceleration of socio-economic development, the Soviets of People's Deputies and all the workers of the republic are directing their strength towards deepening the process of restructuring in economic, social and spiritual spheres, towards the practical realization of the tasks of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan, towards the reinforcement of government and labor discipline. They perceived the results of the Congress of People's Deputies, the report of M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in which he gave a comprehensive analysis of the situation in the country and defined the basic courses of the party's domestic and foreign policy, the formation of a socialist legal government, and the affirmation of a new model of government power that unites within itself the Leninist concept of Soviets with traditional parliamentarism, to be the most important landmark on the road of revolutionary transformations and the renovation of Soviet society.

Under conditions of democratization and openness, the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies have become more active in solving socio-economic problems; they are accepting the development of the principle of self-administration, and the citizens' initiative and amateur organizations are on the rise.

At the same time, the KaSSR Supreme Soviet observes that the level of organizational work performed by the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies on effecting a fundamental improvement in the development of the economy and the social sphere, and in the formation of

a new economic mechanism, does not meet contemporary requirements. The soviet, government and economic organs do not exhibit the necessary assertiveness and consistency in eliminating serious inadequacies and oversights in the observation of government and work discipline, in decreasing the turnover of cadres, and in creating stable work collectives; in this matter they are making insufficient use of the force of public opinion and of Soviet laws.

The significance of contractual discipline is undervalued, and control over its maintenance has weakened; as a result, the number of production associations and enterprises that violate delivery agreements is decreasing slowly. In the first half of the year alone, 107 enterprises in the republic, or 9

of the total number, discontinued their produce deliveries. Especially serious shortcomings in this area have been permitted at enterprises in Aktyubinsk, Dzhezkazgan, Guryev and Karagandinsk Oblasts, and in the republic systems Gosagroprom, Gosstroy and Minmontazhstroy. All of this creates serious difficulties in the work of cooperating plants, does not allow full utilization of existing production potential, leads to standstills, restricts the growth of labor productivity and production efficiency, weakens labor discipline in the collectives and, finally, affects the speed of economic development.

At certain enterprises the output of necessary articles is not assured in the race for quantitative indices, and plans for their sale are fulfilled by raising contract prices and by delivering products according to so-called one-time agreements. With ministries, departments and oblsipolkoms that are willing to look the other way, administrative and engineering and technical workers [ITR] at times receive bonuses, while imbalances arise in the national economy, which carries the loss. Under the circumstances, with a strained situation in currency circulation and an imbalance in the population's incomes and expenses, incidences of insufficient deliveries of necessary commodities to trade organizations and unfulfilled plans for commodity circulation and the provision of services continue to be of significance. Stoppages in the supplies of produce to consumers caused by transportation problems affect the timely fulfillment of contractual obligations.

The republic Council of Ministers has not ensured that the opportunities for accelerating scientific and technical progress and full production capabilities were actively utilized by the ministries, departments and oblsipolkoms. For this reason, the republic's produce supply falls short by 1 billion rubles each year. Plans for introducing new techniques and progressive technology are suspended, the refitting of enterprises is completed slowly, and their reconstruction is often conducted in an uncoordinated manner. At the same time, at the beginning of this year there were reserves of uninstalled equipment worth 708 million rubles.

The task of creating the necessary organizational and economic conditions for high-production work at enterprises, building sites, and on collective and state farms, is being carried out without the required persistence. Shortcomings in planning, material and technical supply, and the organization of production lead to storming, overtime work and to planned tasks not being accomplished, as well as having negative effects on discipline and causing cadres turnover and migration of the population. The principles of economic accountability [khozraschet] and rental and family contracts are not being developed as they should be.

As before, low technological discipline and deviation from requirements and normative-technical documentation are being allowed. In the manufacture of industrial products alone, losses from defective merchandise have exceeded 23 million rubles, and are growing each year. The low quality of food products causes particular anxiety.

The actions of local soviets and law enforcement organs do not answer the need for ensuring the safety of property. The sum of uncompensated losses caused by shortages, the spoilage of produce and loss of livestock, the embezzlement of state and public property, the payment of fines, bad workmanship and for feits has not decreased over the last years. The largest illegal outlays and embezzlements have been revealed in the agro-industrial complex, in trade and in consumer cooperatives, and in the KaSSR systems of Minavtodor and Minzhilkomkhoz. Tampering and distortions in accounting, especially in construction and in the procurement of agricultural products, continue to have their place. The people's control and the law enforcement organs, especially the BKhSS service, do not always take aggressive positions in warning and halting the embezzlement of socialist property and padding. Sometimes these organs act on their own, they generate red tape in their investigations and examinations of cases, and underestimate the importance of openness and broad public participation in preventing encroachments upon public property.

Soviet and economic organs do not fully utilize existing possibilities for the reinforcement of labor discipline. Due to administratively sanctioned standstills, truancies and absences alone, last year there were shortfalls in the delivery of industrial products and unfinished construction-assembly jobs to the amount of more than 110 million rubles. Non-production losses in working time significantly higher than the average republic index are permitted in the industries of Alma-Ata, East Kazakhstan and Pavlodar Oblasts, and in the city of Alma-Ata. Responsibility and demands on administrative cadres for the implementation of labor laws and for the state of discipline and educational work at enterprises, institutions and organizations have decreased. The accumulated positive experience of raid organizations, including those on night shifts, public verification of the state of discipline, the work of comrades' courts and other self-justifying forms has been, in the majority of

cases, simply forgotten. Displays of carelessness and even a criminally negligent attitude towards business and towards official obligations are permitted. The national economy sustains enormous losses due to accidents at production sites, fires, low-quality workmanship, and absences from work for ulterior [ul'timativnye] motives.

The Soviets of People's Deputies do not ensure systematic control over the implementation of measures for improving the work of enterprises that produce everyday necessities and other organizations that perform services for the population. Eighty-six percent of the non-grocery stores in the state trade system work only one shift. The situation in the consumer cooperative, public catering, and other spheres that receive and serve citizens is analogous. The problem of bringing the service sphere to the workplace is being dealt with slowly.

The necessary measures are not being taken to create the appropriate labor and living conditions, to prepare highly qualified work cadres, to decrease work-related diseases, traumas, contamination and pollution at production sites, and to take action for the preservation of nature.

The battle against drinking and drug abuse and related negative phenomena requires fundamental improvement. The number of persons who have had action taken against them for the possession and consumption of alcoholic beverages in public places and in medical drug rehabilitation centers [medvytrezviteli] in the last two years has not shown a significant decrease. The number of incidents of intoxication on means of transportation has increased. Many rayons and cities lack the required coordination of work between soviet, economic and law enforcement organs and public organizations to implement the complex of measures aimed at overcoming drinking. The republic Council of Ministers Commission on the Battle Against Drinking, as well as the analogous local commissions, work ineffectively. In labor collectives, individual work with persons who abuse alcoholic beverages is poorly conducted. Every third announcement from law enforcement organs on the violation of anti-alcohol legislation goes without reaction or discussion in the collectives.

The executive committees of many oblast, rayon, city, settlement, rural and aul Soviets of People's Deputies are slow in restructuring the forms and methods they use to reinforce government and labor discipline, to decrease cadres turnover in the national economy, and in the battle against losses and negligence. The role of sessions of the Soviets, their standing commissions, deputies and deputy groups has been minimized in the development of an integrated approach towards assuring the required order in production, transportation, and the service sphere that would make possible an increase in labor productivity and an improvement in product quality. The decisions of the Soviets and their ispolkoms on these questions, as well as the acts that they have approved, at times have a formal character, are rarely discussed in

labor collectives or in residential areas, and are not supported by organizational work or control over their execution.

**The KaSSR Supreme Soviet resolves:**

1. To consider as one of the most important political tasks of the Soviets of People's Deputies, their executive and administrative organs, the ministries and departments, and the republic's public organizations consistent deployment in the all-Kazakhstan battle against losses and negligence, and for the reinforcement of labor and executive discipline.

2. That the KaSSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments, and republic Soviets of People's Deputies, guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Congresses of USSR People's Deputies, will take urgent measures for the assurance of strict order, organization and discipline in all links of management and administration, binding this work closely to the implementation of radical economic reforms, acceleration of the territory's socio-economic development, improvement in the supply of produce, provision of living space and products for national consumption, and a broadening of the volume and an improvement in the quality of services offered.

They will utilize fully the possibilities presented by the Law on the Government Enterprise (Association) in reinforcing contractual and labor discipline, in eliminating losses of work time in production, in the rational utilization of labor resources and in forming stable labor collectives. They will look upon this task as one of the main aims in the restructuring of the party's economic and social policy, and the increase of production efficiency and work quality.

They will raise the effectiveness of the organs of state arbitration and of legal services for enterprises and organizations, they will strengthen the legal responsibility of economic administrators for the fulfillment of contractual obligations, and they will make full use of economic sanctions.

3. That KaSSR Gosplan, the ministries and departments, and oblispolkoms will accelerate development of the concept of transferring the republic's national economy to principles of regional economic accounting and self-financing, and will conduct the measures necessary for its introduction starting January 1, 1990; they will take additional measures to perfect the planning process, improve the balance of plans, and for the timely elimination of disproportions that appear in the course of their fulfillment in the development of branches; they will bring the volume of unfinished construction into compliance with real possibilities for the observance of normative periods for building construction. They will analyze the state of and determine the purposefulness of large-scale objects that have been built or that are planned for construction with consideration of social priorities.

4. That KaSSR Gossnab, the ministries and departments, Soviets of People's Deputies, and their executive committees will increase the activity of work aimed at reinforcing discipline in the delivery of products in the national economy, will study more deeply the demand for resources, and will maneuver them more efficiently. They will react in a timely manner and sharply to bureaucratic narrowness and the abuse of ranking, to the diversion of resources to non-plan needs. They will not permit unbiased violations of the existing production connections between suppliers and consumers, they will decisively halt incidents of negligence relating to the utilization of material resources, they will strengthen the personal responsibility of cadres at all levels for the safety of socialist property.

5. That the KaSSR State Committee on Labor and Social Questions will raise the level of work on the efficient local utilization of labor resources, on decreasing cadres turnover, on perfecting the normitization and payment for labor according to the end result, on improving the organization of production on the principles of economic accounting and self-financing, with the wide use towards these goals of rental relations as an effective means of increasing labor productivity.

6. That the executive committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies, the KaSSR Ministry of Trade, Kazpotreboyz, the KaSSR Ministry of Consumer Services, and other republic ministries and departments will reexamine within a month the work regime of enterprises in the service sphere, will make it convenient for the population, and will assure the maximum direct proximity of the service sphere to workplaces.

7. That the Soviets of People's Deputies direct the activities of the appropriate law enforcement organs and public organizations towards strengthening the protection of the state's interests and the rights of citizens, that they intensify the battle against drinking, alcoholism, drug abuse, embezzlement and bribe-taking, obtaining the inevitability of punishment for permitted violations of the law, that they increase demands on concrete persons who permit incidents of negligence, padding and distortions of government accounting. Towards these goals they will utilize more widely the possibilities offered by labor collectives and deputy groups. In every area the administrators of law enforcement organs will report to labor collectives and the population according to place of residence.

8. That the Procurator of the KaSSR will strengthen his supervision over the execution in the republic of legislation on labor, its exact interpretation and the absolute observation of laws by government and public organs, official persons and citizens. It will achieve distinct coordination of action among law enforcement organs in the battle with crime.

The organs of the Procuracy, justice and the courts will assure their workers' active participation in the propaganda of Soviet legislation and in raising the legal culture of the population.

9. That the KaSSR Committee of People's Control and its local organs, guided by the requirements of the Law "On People's Control in the USSR," will more persistently implement systematic and effective control over the work being conducted in the republic towards reinforcing government and labor discipline, organization and order, towards raising the efficiency of public production and the responsibility of administrative cadres for the job that has been entrusted to them.

That special attention be shown to control over the fulfillment of contracts and obligations for the delivery of produce, to bringing construction objects on line in a timely manner, and to assuring the safety of industrial and agricultural produce and construction materials.

10. To recommend that the Kazakhstan Republic Council of Trade Unions intensify the activity of trade union organs in the decision of production, economic and social questions, in reinforcing labor discipline, in strengthening control over the execution of legislation and the fulfillment of collective contracts. That it more fully combine practical work on the protection of workers' interests and the solution of their social problems with the achievement of high production results by every labor collective and every worker, that it do everything possible for the maximum unification of the forces that stand for further development of radical economic reform, democratization and openness.

11. That the Soviets of People's Deputies, the republic's ministries and departments will, utilizing the existing conditions of restructuring, begin an uncompromising battle against bureaucracy in the economy and the social and spiritual spheres, and for high-quality work in the administrative apparatus; that they will make government and public organizations completely accessible to workers, eliminate any procrastination or formalism in the consideration of citizens' letters and addresses, that they will fundamentally improve the organization for receiving the public for personal questions in institutions and at enterprises, and in soviet organs.

They will consider it purposeful to form a KaSSR Supreme Soviet Commission for the Examination of Citizens' Statements and Complaints and the Battle Against Bureaucracy, and will recommend that the republic's local Soviets of People's Deputies form in sessions analogous deputy commissions.

12. That the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the KaSSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions and the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies consistently take a course towards further developing democratic beginnings in the administration, towards assuring systematic control over the local execution of labor legislation,

towards the wider utilization of their authority to activate all of the reserves for the acceleration of socio-economic development in these regions. They will bind the organizational mass work of the Soviets more closely to the concrete tasks of reinforcing discipline and law and order.

To recommend that the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies by the end of this year conduct sessions with the participation of representatives of labor collectives, at which they will examine questions of the reinforcement of discipline, the reports of ispolkoms, their departments and administrations, and the administrators of enterprises and organizations on the measures that are being taken to stabilize the situation regionally, they will discuss the given questions in labor collectives and at citizens' gatherings.

To propose that the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium strengthen control over the execution of the resolutions of the Supreme Soviet and its own legislative acts.

13. That the editorial staffs of republic and local newspapers and KaSSR Gosteleradio systematically provide information on the activity of soviet and economic organs that relates to the reinforcement of government and labor discipline, that they more widely disseminate the experience of zealous accounting, that they be persistent in forming a public awareness of the necessity of maintaining order and organization, and that losses, negligence and squandering are inadmissible.

14. That the KaSSR Council of Ministers examine the suggestions and observations expressed by deputies at the sessions, and of those who have spoken at the KaSSR Supreme Soviet standing commission during the preparations for the present sessions, and that they announce to deputies what measures have been taken, that they organize the reports of administrators of ministries and departments in labor collectives.

The KaSSR Supreme Soviet expresses its firm belief that the soviet, government and economic organs, and all of the workers of the republic, fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Congresses of USSR People's Deputies, will take exhaustive measures for the reinforcement of government and labor discipline and will assure the emergence of the national economic complex onto the contemporary lines of socio-economic development.

#### **Sagdiyev Reports on Measures to Improve Political Reform in KaSSR**

90US0136A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 22 Sep 89 pp 2, 3

[Report by Deputy M.R. Sagdiyev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "On Measures to Further Implement Political Reform in the Republic"; at the 11th Term, 14th Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic]

[Text] Dear Comrade Deputies!

We are here at this extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic to scrutinize and adopt, taking into account the results of the people's discussion, the draft laws on additions and amendments to the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution (Fundamental Law), on the elections of people's deputies of the republic and of deputies of local soviets, and the Law on Languages in the Kazakh SSR. In other words, we are to discuss a set of documents related to the practical implementation of the second stage of political reform, whose central issue is the creation of a new structure of power and government in the republics, oblasts, cities, and rayons.

As we know, the first stage of this reform entailed renewal of the electoral system, formation of the highest echelons of authority in the country—the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and a permanent working organ, the Supreme Soviet—and determination of the procedure for their operation.

We have all witnessed how, after a difficult process of searching, a new model of state power was born which combines the Leninist concept of soviets with traditional parliamentarianism.

Now we are seeing the next major stage of political transformation. Work has begun on a grand scale. It is exceptionally complex. We must accomplish a set of measures to provide for it legislatively, including on the republic level. We are not simply talking about reinforcing democratic principles in the electoral system. It is a broader issue—we must today prepare for factually transferring all local power to the soviets, for creating the material and legal premises enabling them in fact to resolve all matters in their territories as the representative organs of people's self-government.

In the context of perestroika this same stage will also entail the resolution of such issues as status of the union republics, expansion of their sovereign rights and opportunities in the political, socio-economic, and cultural spheres, the strengthening of economic managerial independence, and the consolidation on this basis of our federated socialist state.

As Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev noted at the just concluded CC CPSU Plenum, "precise delimitation of the authority of union and republic organs will enable the latter to resolve all matters in their lives according to their own judgment, with the exception of those they willingly hand over to the union—in whose resolution they will also participate, by the way, through appropriate political mechanisms."

What are the results of the people's discussion of the draft legislation presented? The constructive, often sharply critical nature of responses shows the great interest the population has in it. It shows the significant changes, the liberation that has taken place in people's

psychology, in their broad understanding of the need for changes and for development of sovereignty of the people.

Evaluating the draft laws positively, on the whole, letters to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet by certain citizens, labor collectives, social organizations, and informal associations, as well as party committees, ispolkoms of local soviets, and the information mass media have expressed diverse, even diametrically opposed points of view. One group of discussion participants substantiates the necessity for still more revolutionary measures to further restructure the political system of the republic. Another advocates moderation and a gradual approach, observance of existing traditions. There were also demands to simply set aside this session and conduct an All-Kazakhstan referendum on the draft laws.

Thus, the laws we will have to live and work under have been subject to comprehensive analysis; they have been reviewed, we might say, by "public expertise," and the democratic procedure for discussion itself has largely facilitated an increase in people's political activity, growth in their legal culture, and development of glasnost. Let me take this occasion to thank all those who have participated in the constructive discussion. All the letters we received—and there were several thousand—were carefully scrutinized. Meetings and discussions were conducted with many correspondents in standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet, in action committees and departments of the Presidium.

The Commission on Legislative Proposals and standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet thoroughly studied all proposals and observations submitted. Also taken into account were the ideas of the action committee of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, which included prominent experts and scholars in the sphere of legal science, party and soviet workers. Included were a number of proposals introduced by USSR people's deputies and deputies of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet. Clarifications of 13 articles are proposed for incorporation into the draft law on additions and amendments to the constitution. For the draft law on elections of KaSSR people's deputies—33 of 58 articles; and the draft law on elections of deputies of local soviets—33 of 54 articles. The draft laws, taking into account their discussion by the people, were examined at a session of the Presidium of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet. The new drafts have been distributed to you.

Before going into features of the basic changes introduced as a result of discussion, I think it is necessary to mention certain overall factors of fundamental significance.

Many discussion participants propose that the draft law be reexamined and that we have a KaSSR Congress of People's Deputies all the same, as the highest organ of state authority in the republic. It is their view that this decision would proceed from the instructions of the 19th



All-Union Party Conference, where it was stressed that the community of basic principles of structuring the highest organs of state power is the essential guarantee of the unity of the soviets, the pledge of stability of our entire union.

As we know, specific determination of the competence of the KaSSR Congress of People's Deputies is the business of the republic itself. This is, by the way, taken into account in the draft union constitution which is presently being drawn up.

In the original variant, the Congress of People's Deputies was envisaged by us as well. But after lengthy meditation, arguments, and counsel with legal scholars and cultural figures, the firm position was taken that a congress of people's deputies would not be advisable in our republic. It is proposed that the Supreme Soviet be preserved as the single organ of state power. Its rights and authority are changing significantly, however, and the principles of representation are expanding. I will treat this a bit further on. Now I would like to stress that in this case elections are conducted directly to the KaSSR Supreme Soviet for the term prescribed by law, i.e., 5 years. It is proposed that the entire composition of deputies fulfill responsibilities as deputies and participate in the legislative process. I emphasize—all deputies. For us this is of fundamental significance.

In a number of letters and news publications, the question was raised as to the amount of time to be devoted to discussing the draft laws. There was criticism to the effect that one month was insufficient time to conduct a thorough analysis. First of all, I would like to say in this regard that our examination of the views, proposals, and observations introduced, their nature and extent, show that everyone desiring to express an opinion on the draft laws had complete freedom and sufficient time to do so.

Secondly, it must be taken into account that the legal basis for all republic draft laws consists of union acts—the USSR Constitution adopted with its amendments and additions on 1 December of last year and the electoral legislation of the country, keeping in mind, certainly, lessons learned from the past campaign on the election of USSR people's deputies and the specific situation of the republic.

It must be kept in mind, finally, that another reason we must not delay in adopting the draft legislation is that the time factor is squeezing us—and very much so. The term of office for the local soviets of people's deputies expires in December, and that of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet—in February 1990. The draft law requires that elections be announced 3 months prior to the expiration of deputies' terms of office for the local soviets, and 4 months prior for the Supreme Soviet.

During the course of discussions, questions were also raised and views expressed dealing with matters beyond the framework of the draft legislation but of vital significance—on the implementation of economic reform, food provision, housing program implementation, the

ecology, and the activity of law enforcement agencies; in other words, on issues which have a direct effect on man, which deal with his everyday needs and concerns. All of these proposals will be examined in the most attentive fashion and appropriate decisions will be made in their regard.

Some words should also be said concerning what has been proposed in favor of broader and more far-reaching amendments to the constitution of the republic. This involves the fundamental re-shaping of its preamble, amendments in the portion on state sovereignty, the transition to republic-level economic accountability and self-financing, the status of people's deputy and executive and judicial authority which do not meet the pressing demands of our time, and the re-infusing of certain other important provisions with new content.

Truly we cannot help but agree that much in the constitution of 1978 is already in need of re-shaping. But it is felt that this is in the realm of future work—all the more so since, by decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the constitution of the country will be reexamined. It is therefore proposed to incorporate into the fundamental law of the republic only those changes without which it would be impossible to begin forming our new structure of soviets and restructuring our judicial-legal system.

As far as other proposals are concerned, the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party examined the draft Concept for Self-Government and Self-Financing in the Republic and approved it in its entirety. This document was published in the press for widespread discussion. The KaSSR Council of Ministers has been directed to work through the draft concept taking the discussion into account, and submit it for examination by the next session of the supreme soviet, scheduled for November.

At the same time, during the course of preparing the draft fundamental law of the republic, a preparatory commission considered it necessary to include a number of provisions in the draft which were not incorporated during the period of popular discussion of amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution, but which should be embodied constitutionally and legally during the course of perestroika. This is primarily an issue concerning the state status of the Kazakh language.

Now to address the basic content of the draft laws. As we have already stated, the highest legislative, administrative, and supervisory organ of state authority in the republic will be the Supreme Soviet, keeping in mind that it will be convened at least two times per year for sessions lasting up to two months. This body will retain the exclusive right of settling the most important constitutional questions and determining the basic orientation of internal and external policy activity of the republic. It has the authority to take under review and decide any issues of state life within the jurisdiction of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.



In contrast to the constitutions of several other republics—of the Baltic republics, for example—our draft constitution states simply that laws and resolutions adopted by the KaSSR Supreme Soviet may not contradict the laws of the USSR. This ensures unity of legality in the territory of the republic and of the country.

Among the powers of the new Supreme Soviet are election and appointment of the highest responsible officials—chairman of the Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic and his deputies, members of the government—and examination of the reports of organs it forms. It has the right to repeal ukases and resolutions of the Presidium of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet, directives of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, resolutions and directives of the KaSSR government, decisions of oblast and the Alma-Ata and Leninsk city soviets of people's deputies, and has budget supervisory responsibility. The principle of monitorship is incorporated in the draft and penetrates the entire system of authority and government from top to bottom.

It is considered advisable that responsible officials in the Council of Ministers and executive committees (with the exception of their chairmen), chiefs of sections, departments, ispolkom directorates and their deputies, judges and state arbiters not be allowed to be deputies in the soviet by which they were elected or appointed. Constitutional reinforcement is given to the rule according to which responsible officials elected or appointed by the soviets may not retain their positions for more than two consecutive terms. The draft states that a responsible official of any rank may be dismissed from his position by the soviet due to unsuitable performance of official duty or discreditable behavior.

Guarantees of subordination of executive to legislative organs are reinforced. Article 117 is supplemented by a provision obliging the KaSSR Council of Ministers to render a report on its work to the Supreme Soviet at least once per year. The responsibility of the government to present its program of activity for review by the Supreme Soviet is raised to the constitutional level.

The proposal calling for greater exactingness in ministries and departments which receive inquiries from deputies deserves support, especially since this right will probably be widely used under the new conditions.

The opportunities necessary for full creativity in drafting legislation is afforded the KaSSR Supreme Soviet. Specifically, this is to be facilitated by a detailed determination of the subjects of legislative regulation, which is being done for the first time.

The significant increase in creative legal activity at the highest echelons of power makes special demands of the legislative process. A number of new provisions directed towards democratization of this process are included in the KaSSR constitution. Thus, the circle of users regarding the right of legislative initiative has been expanded. It is established in this regard that laws and

other decisions of the Supreme Soviet be adopted, as a rule, only after preliminary discussion of their drafts in standing commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet. Prior to this, such procedure was envisaged just as a possibility.

The organizational structure of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has been retained. However, it acquires another status, its composition is formed anew, and its competence is changed. Its chief task now is to provide the work organization of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. It will also exercise so-called "presidential" functions (awarding honorary titles and certificates of honor, granting citizenship and clemency, etc.). The fundamental difference between the new Presidium and the previous one lies in the fact that it is not endowed with the right to introduce changes to legislation or publish normative ukases. This more solidly guarantees the sovereignty of the Supreme Soviet.

The work of the Presidium will be directed by the chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, who is the highest responsible official of the republic and represents the KaSSR in the country and in international relations. He is elected by secret ballot of the Supreme Soviet to a 5-year term and may not serve more than two terms consecutively. During the course of discussion, this provision was treated in rather lively fashion. Proposals were introduced, for example, providing for the election of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet by universal and secret vote for a period not to exceed one term. The standing commissions and action committee nonetheless affirmed the view that it would not be advisable to replace Article 107 of the draft, insofar as it conforms with USSR legislation.

In determining the new functions of the Presidium and new responsibilities of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, it is proposed to establish procedure which would give the chairman sufficient authority to organize the work of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, and would at the same time preclude excessive concentration of power in the hands of a single individual.

The role of standing commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet is significantly enhanced. A great deal of new content is being introduced into their organization and activity. It is stipulated in this regard that, along with the standing commissions, investigatory, auditing, and other temporary commissions may be established as necessary. However, all commissions and committees, regardless of their type, must orient themselves primarily on the work of drafting legislation, combining this with organizational and supervisory activity. Appointment and election of responsible officials to the Council of Ministers, People's Control Committee, Supreme Court and oblast courts, and the State Arbitration Board will be conducted only upon favorable recommendation or the consent of appropriate commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet.

For the first time in the practice of Soviet construction since 1936, the terms of office of higher and local organs of state power have been equalized. A single 5-year term for all soviets will better facilitate the organic activity of the representative organs of power as an integral system. Extending the term of office of local soviets from 2.5 to 5 years will also serve to increase efficiency and enhance the acquisition of professional attributes by the body of deputies.

The work of oblast, rayon, and city soviets of people's deputies will now be organized by their presidiums, which will be headed by the chairmen of the soviets. Any deputy may be elected chairman.

In our view, the basic orientation of the work of the presidium should be towards work organization for sessions and periods between sessions, supervision of accomplishment of the decisions of the soviets, and of instructions, proposals, and critical observations of the voters, as well as of inquiries, proposals, and critical observations expressed by deputies at the sessions. The presidium will also act as activity coordinator of the standing commissions, and will provide assistance to the deputies in their individual and collective work (as groups of deputies). It will assist the deputies in the organization of reports to the voters and labor collectives and in the study and mutual exchange of experience. It will provide assistance to lower soviets, adopt appropriate decisions, and subsequently confirm them at sessions. In other words, it will perform functions presently performed by ispolkoms and their apparatus. The ispolkoms will now lose these functions, insofar as they will be fulfilling the role of corporate executive organ, of "local government," if you will.

In its new role, the ispolkom will have to exercise operational management of economic and socio-cultural construction on territory under its jurisdiction; draw up the local budget, and current and long-range plans for social and economic development, and present these for review by the soviet; render reports to the soviet regarding their execution and organize implementation of the soviet's decisions.

Voters expressed interest in the proposal to establish in the republic a new organ such as the Constitutional Oversight Committee. Its chief purpose would be to serve as an unbiased guardian of the fundamental law and its principles, to provide judicial evaluations of documents. The committee is to consist of experts in the sphere of politics and law, and will be comprised of 11 individuals—a chairman, his deputy, and 9 members. The committee itself will not have the right to repeal acts not in conformance with USSR and republic law. This is the function of the Supreme Soviet with respect to organs accountable to it. The committee's competence will extend to the right of verifying conformance of various acts with the USSR constitution and its laws, and those of the KaSSR, and of drawing up conclusions in this regard.

The constitution determines those organs whose acts fall under oversight of the committee. We must apparently agree with those comrades who write that this committee can also propose an initiative for the development and adoption of laws which would facilitate implementation of constitutional requirements. Organization and procedures governing the committee's activity will be detailed in the special law on constitutional oversight.

The Kazakh SSR Fundamental Law significantly consolidates the authority of the People's Control Committee. This committee is afforded the right of legislative initiative and its chairman becomes a member of the Presidium of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet by virtue of his position. The authority of the organs of people's control will be increased by empowering them with the function of coordinating the work of other supervisory organs.

One of the most important tasks of political reform is to effect fundamental renovation of the work content of the local soviets. As is shown convincingly by analysis of their present activity, this is currently holding up any further movement of perestroika. A paradoxical situation has come about—we shout at the top of our voice about economic accountability, independence of enterprises, the transition to new economic management relations, and satisfaction of workers' social needs, but local authority is unable to provide any active support. No close contact exists between self-management on the labor-collective level and self-management of territories. Many executive committees, departments, and directorates lag behind real-life conditions, display a poor orientation in the swiftly changing environment, fail to inform voters concerning their work, and do not always know how and by what means people are living.

In other words, we need a strong, authoritative, solid soviet which would be capable of resolving literally all issues of local life. It is proposed that resolving the problem of re-establishing the sovereignty of the soviets should proceed in two directions. It is first of all necessary to lay down a material-financial base for them and restructure their management of affairs based on self-management, self-financing, and self-supply principles, on the harmonization of local with universal state interests.

Great hopes in this regard are being placed in the Law on General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Management of the USSR, which will enable us to solve the problem of financing the soviets—not through a mechanical redistribution of funds among various budgetary sources, but on an economic basis alone. They will be entrusted with the management of enterprises which provide products and services for the local market; facilities of the agro-industrial complex, communal housing, and other branches of the social sphere; and enterprises in the territory which influence the formation of general economic conditions. Payment for natural and labor resources will be established on the principles of economically-based norms.

The resoluteness with which the soviet is afforded the opportunity to be a genuine master of its territory is expressed in Article 71 of the draft Law on Additions and Amendments to the KaSSR Constitution, where it is stated that union departments may establish their enterprises on Kazakhstan territory only with the consent of and under conditions prescribed by the local soviet, or based on an agreement with it. This should also pertain to the establishment of republic-level enterprises on the territory of oblasts and rayons. The wording of Article 82 is also essential, determining that any soviet directly manages all branches of state, economic, social, and national-cultural construction.

The establishment of effectively functioning soviets is impossible without effecting radical changes in the structure and arrangement of their formation. In fact, under conditions when management methods were based on command and administration, when bureaucratism and formalism flourished, the right of citizens to freely nominate their own representatives to the soviets was replaced by elections in which citizens voted for just a single candidate, an individual whose candidacy was proposed, as a rule, outside the will of the voters themselves.

This led to a situation where the majority of the electorate related to a candidate with indifference. With regard to many of the candidates (later deputies), such practice was in turn transformed in their consciousness into a very low self-estimate of their personal role. A direct psychological dependence was thereby created between voter indifference and deputy passivity.

The negative aspects of the electoral system make it necessary to reconstruct it completely. The main task of reform is to increase the activity of the voters and, based on this, improve the composition of the body of deputies. The soviets must comprise deputies capable of effectively resolving all issues of local life, taking into account the requirements and interests of their electorate. Competent, active soviets cannot otherwise exist. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to create an electoral mechanism which would provide for competition among candidates on genuinely democratic principles and which would enable citizens to freely elect their representatives.

The aim of the draft legislation presented for your review is to provide a legal basis for the implementation of political tasks.

No unbiased individual can help but notice that the KaSSR electoral legislation differs from the USSR law in a number of significant aspects, especially regarding those legal provisions which up until now have regulated the elections of organs of authority in the republic.

Just consider the fact that an entirely different representation is envisaged for the highest organ of state authority in the Kazakh SSR. This body will be made up not of 510, as is now the case, but of 360 deputies.

Secondly, the draft law establishes a numerical requirement for the collective afforded the right to nominate its own candidate—at least 300 people. This is done so as to adhere to social justice in elections with respect to labor collectives of large membership.

If you recall, many well-founded claims were made on this account with regard to the USSR law, insofar as the “wholesale” approach to nominating candidates did not provide collectives the opportunity to have their own representative among the people’s deputies of the country.

Finally, in contrast to the union legislation, which states that a third of the people’s deputies must be comprised of representatives of social organizations, our draft legislation provides for one-fourth of the total number in this regard. Judging from responses, voters were interested in the following provision on run-off elections: if none of the candidates previously on the ballot has received the required number of votes over the course of elections in one okrug or another, none of them may accordingly be put back on the ballot for elections to the post of KaSSR people’s deputy. It should also be kept in mind that the draft legislation incorporates a system of measures which would ensure broader voter participation in the work of okrug and sector electoral commissions.

An important distinguishing feature of the new electoral laws is the fact that they provide for elections in single-mandate electoral okrugs, where several candidates will be nominated. This presents the opportunity for real selection. It is necessary that this right be employed to its full extent.

During the course of discussion, proposals were made to enter into the draft legislation the provision that elections are to be conducted only on a competitive basis, i.e., at least two candidates per okrug must be nominated. However, this norm restricts the rights of voters, and numerous opinions were given about this as well. The previous wording is therefore retained in the draft legislation—an electoral ballot may contain the names of any number of candidates.

It must be taken into account that, in this case, each collective will strive to nominate its own representatives—therefore, a mechanism to regulate this process is being entered in the draft Law on Elections of People’s Deputies of the KaSSR. Preliminary discussion of candidacy may be conducted at a conference of authorized okrug voters. Here, in contrast to the okrug pre-election assembly envisaged, as you know, in the union electoral law, this conference of voters is not conducted unless at least six candidates are nominated to the post of deputy.

Essential questions have arisen—what happens afterwards with the conference of voters? There are proposals on this account to the effect that, in addition to discussing okrug candidates nominated to the post of KaSSR people’s deputy and making the decision to register candidate names, these conferences can become

permanent active councils of representatives of the labor collectives and population by place of residence. The conference could also be used as an instrument for formulating instructions, organizing deputy reports, supporting their initiatives and, if necessary, for examining questions related to their recall, etc. In other words, instead of creating new organizations, we will already have the outline of some ready-made instrument. It is evident that these proposals merit serious discussion and should perhaps be approved on a trial basis.

It must be especially noted that the provision for conducting a possible conference of authorized voters was inserted only into the draft law on election of people's deputies of the KaSSR. It does not appear in the draft law on elections to the local soviets.

It is very important that, during the course of an election campaign, a conference of authorized voters does not become a narrow, private meeting of local leaders. It must become a broad, representative, competent, genuinely democratic forum capable of exercising fairly and concretely the extremely important function of selecting the most worthy and authoritative candidates. Article 34, on the principles of organizing a conference of voters, has been worked through fairly precisely. In particular, pay attention to the circumstance that the number of representatives at the conference for each candidate to the post of deputy must be the same. It is felt this innovation will preclude the dubious practice of several collectives nominating one and the same candidate straight-away.

The draft law on election of KaSSR people's deputies provides that three-fourths, or 270, of the people's deputies of the KaSSR will be elected from okrugs formed with approximately equal numbers of voters over the entire territory of the republic. According to calculations, the number of voters per okrug amounts to 36,400.

It is proposed that one-fourth, or 90, of the KaSSR people's deputies be elected from social organizations with republic-wide organs. These include the Kazakhstan Communist Party, professional trade unions, cooperative organizations, Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League], women's councils, organizations of war and labor veterans, associations of scientific staff personnel, creative unions, the Union of Legal Specialists, social organizations in the foreign relations sphere, and other organizations.

This is an issue which caused heated debate during the conduct of the elections of USSR people's deputies at their first congress, and at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There was also sharp discussion during the discussions on draft legislation on elections in the republic. Some approved of the idea, others expressed their doubts, and there were those not at all inclined to accept deputies elected from the social organizations.

In our view, such a system of elections is supported firstly by the fact that citizens of the republic, as members of one social organization or another in their

overwhelming majority, obtain yet another opportunity to directly influence the activity of the organs of state power. Secondly, such innovation will enable the concerns of various national groups and social strata to be more fully taken into account and, in the final analysis, will create additional conditions for enhancing the role of social organizations in the political life of the republic.

It is simply necessary that everything be done to ensure that elections in the social organizations proceed on a broadly democratic, competitive basis, that they be conducted openly, with the active participation of the primary echelons of these organizations.

It is clear today that the coming elections of KaSSR people's deputies and deputies of local soviets will be very complicated, replete with sharp discussion and the clashing of various points of view, a direct political struggle with those who are striving to drag in ideas foreign to Soviet order under the guise of perestroika-oriented slogans and glasnost.

Taking advantage of existing difficulties and fanning nationalistic flames, people here and there want to deny the party political influence, disallow communists in the soviets, cast doubt on the leading role of the CPSU in Soviet society.

We must oppose this kind of tendency. The party is presently mastering a new work style and methods. It is overcoming dogmatism and conservatism, rejuvenating its cadre composition. It is going to depart from purely managerial functions and reinvigorate its political functions. It is impossible to tear the party away from economics or politics, from social processes. This would mean the destruction of perestroika and of our federation, because it is only the party which keeps this union together and makes it a united force, a united, democratic, federated organization. And whoever does not understand this does not understand the meaning of the renovation process taking place in the country.

It is from these principles that the September (1989) CC CPSU Plenum examined the question of the party's role in the transformation of our federation. As you know, the plenum decided to convene the regular 28th Party Congress in October 1990. An extremely important matter which will be submitted for scrutiny by the congress is the CC CPSU accounting with regard to the course of perestroika and party tasks. The congress agenda also includes the report of the Central Auditing Commission, development and adoption of new CPSU statutes, and elections of the party's central organs.

As M.S. Gorbachev has stated, preparation for the next regular party congress will provide a healthy impetus to the activity of party organizations in resolving the pressing problems of today's society. We must take a turn for the better in the very near future, primarily with respect to what affects the material living conditions of the people.

The Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR, in what remains of its term of office, and the local soviets of people's deputies which will be formed in December are faced with the tremendous, purposeful effort of mobilizing the population to achieve successful accomplishment of the goals of the current 5-year plan, to meet the 28th CPSU Congress in worthy fashion.

Returning to the draft legislation on elections, I would like to turn your attention to the following circumstance—the draft laws provide for a reduction in the overall number of deputies by 30-40 percent on the average for all echelons of soviets. Is this frightening? I think not. Two aims primarily are being pursued here. The first is to make the soviets more mobile, turn them into effective working organs. The second is to improve their qualitative composition.

It is also essential that elections of people's deputies of village, settlement, and aul soviets may be conducted without the formation of electoral okrugs over the entire territory of the soviet in question. In contrast to legislation previously in effect in this regard, the number of electoral okrugs for elections of oblast, city, rayon, settlement, village, and aul soviets of people's deputies will be determined by the appropriate local soviet or by its presidium. In addition, each settlement, village, and aul soviet will itself decide the question of conducting its elections—by electoral okrug or for the entire territory of the soviet.

In short, the authority of local organs of power is to be expanded in the preparation for and conduct of elections. This in no way means that the soviets directly organize the election campaign. The electoral commissions must become the true headquarters here—from the Central Electoral Commission, which will be confirmed at this session, to that of settlement, village, and aul. It is they which will form the okrugs and resolve matters relating to the conduct of elections and to organizing deputy recall.

With respect to openness in election campaigns, it should be noted that the draft legislation stipulates a set of measures designed to expand this. A mechanism has been laid down enabling the entire pre-election program to be carried out under the open, democratic monitoring of the people.

Another important innovation is the fact that the right of nominating candidates to the post of deputy—in addition to the labor collectives, social organizations, voter assemblies by place of residence, of servicemen by unit of assignment—is also extended to collectives of students in secondary and higher specialized educational institutions. The union legislation does not contain this.

Finally, as our comrades stressed entirely correctly over the course of discussion of the draft legislation, they contain not even a hint of restriction regarding the voting rights of the non-indigenous population. After the

tumult of emotion which burst forth on this point, in the Baltic region for example, our proposed draft laws are most interethnic.

Comrade deputies, I believe we could adopt the draft laws, taking discussion at the session into account, and in doing so could initiate the new election campaign. Here we must keep in mind that we are entrusted with a special responsibility—that of passing the first laws on the realization of political reform in the republic and on the creation of conditions for broad democratic transformations, for bringing the economy out of its crisis state. It is precisely this which comprises the essence of the amendments and additions to the draft laws, which are based on the concepts of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The draft Law on Languages in the Kazakh SSR evoked the broadest and most pointed discussion. This is a fundamentally new document which concerns the vital interests of all peoples residing in the republic.

The need for legislative regulation of the status of languages in the republic is brought about by past deviations from the Leninist principles of nationalities policy, resulting in an unjustified restriction in the social functions and sphere of use of the Kazakh language, as well as languages of the other nationalities in Kazakhstan. It is no accident that the draft law under discussion deals not only with the Kazakh language, but with languages. This emphasizes the respect given all peoples who live in the Kazakh SSR, and takes into consideration their equal rights and equal contribution to the economic, scientific, and cultural development of the republic. The very title of the law was changed during the course of discussion. Now we are talking not simply about languages in general, but about languages in the Kazakh SSR. And this essentially changes the meaning of the draft law.

The draft law is developed on the basis of the Leninist concept of the functioning of languages in a federated, union, multi-national state, with the participation of deputies of the Supreme Soviet, linguistic scholars, scholars of philosophy and law of the Academy of Sciences and institutions of higher education, workers in party and soviet organs, personnel of educational, cultural, and legal organs, social organizations, and representatives of various ethnic groups in the population. Taken as the basis for work on the draft law were the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union Party Conference, the draft CPSU platform "Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Today's Conditions," the CC CPSU resolution "On the Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization in the Interethnic and Patriotic Education of the Workers," and the resolution of the 1st USSR Congress of People's Deputies "On the Basic Orientation of Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR."

Attention was also devoted to the legal resolution of language issues in Kazakhstan during the years immediately following the revolution, to language legislation presently in effect, similar laws in the other republics, and the numerous proposals contained in letters sent by citizens to the Supreme Soviet, party organs, newspapers, and magazines. Additionally, the experience of resolving these kinds of problems in other countries was taken into account, as well as international obligations of the USSR regarding the nationalities issue.

Like any other draft law, of course, the Law on Languages which has been presented could not foresee everything. But it pursues one and only one aim—together, jointly, as is said, for the entire community to streamline a version, to abandon, if necessary, wording which is not supported by the majority and develop the most suitable variant.

The dispersion of views here, it must be said, has turned out to be great. Proposals were even introduced advocating removal of the term "state language" from usage, insofar as this relates not to a state, as it were, but to a republic. We cannot agree to this, since Article 68 of the republic's constitution affirms directly that the Kazakh SSR is a sovereign Soviet socialist state. The draft CPSU platform "Nationalities Policy of the Party Under Today's Conditions" stresses that "the question of the advisability of acknowledging as the state language the language of the nationality for which a union or autonomous republic is named—is the competence of the republics themselves."

Advocates of the above-mentioned views, by the way, were few in number. On the whole, the overwhelming majority of people have no doubt as to the morality or legality of assigning Kazakh the status of state language. The entire population of the republic understands and supports the idea of ensuring the all-encompassing development and functioning of the Kazakh language in all spheres of social and cultural life.

The Kazakh people are again convinced, on the basis of this example, of the respect for their national dignity, culture, and language on the part of all who have tied their destiny to this ancient land—their dear, native land—and they evaluate appropriately the balance, restraint, and I would even say the touching delicacy of the interpretation of this question, on which depends their very existence, their future as a nation.

At the recently convened plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, First Secretary N.A. Nazarbayev expressed his sincere gratitude to the entire Russian-speaking population of the republic for its high sense of civic responsibility and its understanding of the language needs of the indigenous population of Kazakhstan. I call upon the KaSSR Supreme Soviet to join in these words of gratitude.

By virtue of historical development, Russian has become the language of interethnic communication in our country. Therefore, legal acknowledgment of Kazakh as

the state language and Russian as the language of interethnic communication in the draft law at the same time emphasizes that all the necessary conditions must be realized for the free and full-blooded development of national-Russian and Russian-national bilinguality, and of all-encompassing multilinguality. Here the concept of our draft law is significantly different from the concepts of similar laws adopted in other republics in the sense that ours reflects a stronger international essence.

At the same time, a proposal was introduced at the September CC CPSU Plenum on legally assigning to Russian the status of universal state language. Russian should be used in this capacity over the territory of the entire country on a legally equal basis with the state languages of the union republics. Let us consult among ourselves to see if there is a need, prior to adoption of the union Law on Languages, to insert these changes into Article 70 of the draft Law on Additions and Amendments to the KaSSR Constitution, as well as into corresponding articles of the KaSSR Law on Languages—or if we should leave them in their previous wording which does not basically contradict the CC CPSU draft platform.

It is proposed to note in the same Article 70 of the draft that there is a guarantee in the Kazakh SSR providing for the free functioning of the languages of all ethnic groups residing in the territory of the republic, and that privileges or restrictions in the use of one language or another are not permitted. In other words, the existence of a state language must not lead to language discrimination or disrespect with regard to other languages. Moreover, it is important that the state show concern for the development of languages of peoples with sparse population.

It is proceeding from this that legal provision is made, in areas where one nationality or another, one group or another of peoples sparse in population live in a compact configuration, their language can be acknowledged by the local soviet as the working language. In this regard I cannot help but turn your attention to the article according to which the Supreme Soviet for the first time is endowed with exclusive authority with respect to ensuring the equal rights of citizens of all nationalities residing on the territory of the Kazakh SSR. The Presidium must assist in publishing laws and other acts, not only in the Kazakh and Russian languages, but in the languages of other ethnic groups as well.

Articles 17, 20, and 21 elicited the greatest degree of anxiety on the part of the Russian-speaking population in the republic. This is understandable, for these articles affect literally millions of people. They deal with the mandatory learning of two or even three languages by persons in certain categories, the requirement for language instruction in the schools, in secondary and higher educational institutions.

During the course of popular discussion, the action committee attentively studied all proposals and inserted

serious corrections enabling, we presume, the tension to be relieved. It is now proposed that these articles be introduced in stages.

The following wording for Article 17 is presented for your judgment: "Heads and responsible officials of the organs of state authority, law enforcement organs, social security organs, institutions of people's education, health, and culture, trade enterprises, enterprises of everyday services, communications, transportation, communal housing, mass transportation and information media must: in the first stage (through 1995), make provision for receiving and conversing in the language of address; by the year 2000, know—regardless of nationality—Kazakh and Russian, and in locations where other ethnic groups live in compact configuration, know their languages as well to the extent necessary for accomplishing official functions.

Planning for future enhancement of the level of professional training and education regarding Kazakh, Russian, and other languages, they must stipulate with maximum objectivity a strictly differentiated procedure, to be applied in stages, for certification and selection of cadre, with mandatory consideration given primarily to the job-performance, moral, and political qualities of employees.

Specialists arriving from other regions will be afforded the opportunity to study Kazakh and the language of the local majority over a 5-year period."

With regard to resolutions of the Council of Ministers on additional measures for fulfilling the 3 March 1987 resolutions of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee and KaSSR Council of Ministers on improving the study of Kazakh and Russian language, it is proposed that the government of the republic bring these into conformance with the Law on Languages.

It is evident that we cannot help but agree with those of our comrades who propose that the Council of Ministers be directed to draw up and present to the Supreme Soviet a long-term, integral, social-state program of development of languages and cultures in the Kazakh SSR to the year 2000 and beyond. Such program must take into account personnel, material-technical, finance, training-methodology, and other questions, as well as measures to encourage and assist representatives of other nationalities in the study of local languages. All of this fully responds to the decisions of the recently convened CC CPSU Plenum on interethnic issues.

We must proceed from an understanding that, even in view of the great importance of national interests, of the great importance of developing national self-consciousness, we cannot cut ourselves off from one another by ethnic fences or partitions. Look at how many flowers of the most diverse colors, how many hues the Ukrainian SSR Days of Literature and Art left in the cornfield of our multi-ethnic culture. Look at all the colors that appear on the palette of associated cultural centers which have been established in many regions of

the republic! Just imagine if this cornfield is neglected, if each goes his own way—the colors will decay, there will not be any picture. All of us, each of us separately and all of us together, would become poorer if this were to happen.

Finally, it is impossible not to pay attention to priorities common to all mankind. Remember how Abay reasoned: to lock oneself up in ethnicity means to alienate oneself from values which have been earned by the entire world, to doom oneself to self-isolation.

On the other hand, representatives of all nationalities living in Kazakhstan should set an example of respect for the Kazakh language so as to preclude any disparagement to it. You will agree that we cannot consider it normal when a person who has tied up his life with Kazakhstan does not know the Kazakh language and relates coolly to the culture and traditions of the people.

In order to dispel conclusively any suspicion regarding this question, I report that yesterday, at the meeting of the Presidium, proposals were voiced in the names of a number of deputies of several standing commissions as to the inadvisability of introducing the draft Law on Languages at today's session. Here they alluded to the fact that it was necessary to take into account the decisions and recommendations of the September (1989) CC CPSU Plenum, with the aim of making significant additions and extensions to the draft.

At the same time, it was also stated that a sovereign republic may make any decision; and if in the future, in making a determination of the status of Russian as the universal state language, the need arises for corrections to be made, then they can be made.

Nonetheless the Presidium stated unambiguously that the draft Law on Languages would be introduced for today's review.

I am certain that we all need the law under discussion, that it is necessary for the state protection of all languages and the creation of conditions favorable for their development. It is necessary to protect constitutional rights in this sphere. Such a law is necessary for the further consolidation of friendship among the Soviet peoples.

Comrade deputies! A radical reorganization of the judicial-legal system in our country is being conducted parallel to our political reform. Changes must affect the entire mechanism of law enforcement. They must affect the structure, establishment of new functions, and the operating procedures of the courts, the procuracy, the bar, arbitration, police organs, and correctional labor institutions.

The court is the central echelon of the legal system, the guarantor of the rights and interests of citizens to be protected by law. Special concern must therefore be devoted to consolidating the independence of judges, strengthening their authority and the confidence citizens



place in them. On 4 Aug 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the law "On the Status of Judges in the USSR." Based on it, the KaSSR law "On the Judicial System" will have to be completely reexamined. The republic law determines not only the legal status of judges and procedure for their activity, but prescribes for them new, more important tasks regarding the observance of Soviet law, of democratic principles and institutions, of the freedom and rights of the individual.

The independence of the court is determined to a significant degree by the method of its formation. It is established in the published draft Law on Additions and Amendments to the KaSSR Constitution that people's judges of rayon (city) courts are elected by the appropriate higher soviets of people's deputies. Judges of oblast courts and the Alma-Ata city court are elected by the KaSSR Supreme Soviet. At the same time, people's assessors of rayon (city) courts, as before, will be elected by open vote at citizen assemblies by place of residence or work place. People's assessors of higher courts will be elected by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies. Judges of all courts are elected to a 10-year term, people's assessors—to a 5-year term.

A great many legislative acts are in the works in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and its organs relating to the activity of administrative organs, civil legislation, etc. The majority of these will also be presented for widespread discussion.

Concern regarding law enforcement organs should be at the center of attention of the local soviets of people's deputies. In increasing the responsibility of the court, procuracy, and organs of internal affairs for the maintenance of law and order, it is necessary at the same time to effect a more resolute change on the part of all party, soviet, and economic organs, all social organizations, and all citizens to step up their fight against crime, to take steps to assist law enforcement organs in the accomplishment of the tasks they face. Much remains to be done here in the fight against crime by temporary committees which have been established everywhere in the republic and have already begun to function.

Comrade deputies! Allow me to express my confidence that you will find it possible to ratify the proposed draft laws and thereby create the preconditions for the further democratic development of our republic.

#### **Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers Decree on Kazakh Language**

*18300816 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian, 25 Aug 89 p 1*

[KazTAG report: "In the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers"]

**The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers issued a decree "On Supplementary Measures for Implementing the Resolutions of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers dated 3 March 1987 'On Improving the Study of the Kazakh Language in the Republic.'"**

[Text] It was noted that as a result of the persistent and consistent work in improving interethnic relations in the republic on the part of the Party, Soviet, and economic organizations, certain positive changes have been made. The state of affairs in the area of establishing real bilingualism has noticeably improved. In the time that has passed since the appearance of the resolutions of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers on improving the study of the Kazakh and Russian languages, a number of concrete measures, aimed at satisfying the cultural demands of the various nationalities inhabiting the republic, have been realized.

In addition, groups in preschool institutions and classes and schools, in which education and instruction are conducted in the national languages, have been inaugurated. Elective courses in the study of the Kazakh and Russian languages have been introduced. Study groups for those who wish to study these languages have been organized everywhere. Dictionaries, phrase-books, textbooks, and methodological manuals have been published for mass circulation. A central editorial board for artistic translation and literary exchanges has been established in the Kazakhstan Writers' Union.

At the same time, the process of establishing bilingualism and strengthening the public role of the Kazakh and other national languages is still proceeding slowly. The tendency, which was formed in the past, to restrict the use of the Kazakh language is particularly difficult to overcome. The ministries, departments, and local Soviet ispolkoms have not been sufficiently involved in raising the linguistic culture and have not taken concrete steps, aimed at conducting business in the Kazakh language in all parts of the republic, at the introduction of simultaneous translation, etc. To this day in the republic there is not a single specialized secondary educational institution, in which Kazakh is the language of instruction, and at many colleges there are no faculties, departments, nor groups, conducting instruction in the Kazakh language.

The imperfection of the methods of teaching the Kazakh language in Russian speaking groups, beginning in kindergarten and continuing until college, as well as the imperfection of the textbooks, phrase books, and dictionaries impedes the learning of the Kazakh language by members of other nationalities. Programs and educational materials for the accelerated teaching of the Kazakh language have not been developed.

The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers has approved practical organizational measures and recommendations for further developing the public functions of the Kazakh language. In particular, in 1989-1990, it is planned to expand the system of kindergartens and nurseries with



education and instruction in the Kazakh language. They will be opened everywhere in accordance with the needs of the population, staffed with qualified personnel, and provided with educational supplies, methodological literature, and didactic material. At the same time, the number of hours dedicated to studying language is being increased in all types of preschool institutions. Methodological references for accelerated instruction in colloquial speech are being created for this purpose.

A number of measures concern schools providing a general education and vocational training schools. The demand and desires for schools and classes, in which Kazakh is the language of instruction, will be studied and they will be opened in the prescribed order. Children's homes, boarding schools, and groups or classes with instruction and education in the Kazakh language will be established for orphans and children who have been left without parental care.

Beginning in 1990, the number of hours in the curriculum for the study of the Kazakh language and literature will be increased in schools, where Russian is the language of instruction. Also beginning in 1990, study of the Kazakh language will be introduced in the 10th and 11th grades as well as in secondary vocational training schools. Beginning in 1992, the subject "Kazakh language and literature" will be included on the secondary education certificate for graduates of secondary schools and vocational training schools, in which Russian is the language of instruction.

The issue of extending the pay scale for Russian language and literature teachers in a national school to the teachers of these disciplines in schools and in secondary specialized educational institutions and vocational training schools, where Russian is the language of instruction, will be considered in concert with the Union agencies. We will have to expand the training of Kazakh language and literature teachers for schools, where Russian is the language of instruction, at the appropriate colleges in the republic.

In 1990-1995, it is also planned to set up a training program for Kazakh-speaking teaching specialists at all the republic's specialized secondary educational institutions, primarily in the agricultural, medical, commercial, and consumer services professions and in art and culture. A list of general education and sociopolitical subjects and general professional curriculums, which will be taught in the Kazakh language, is being determined. The translation and publication of the appropriate educational and teaching methods literature will be accomplished.

During the next three years, multidiscipline departments and study groups, in which Kazakh is the language of instruction, will be inaugurated at all institutions of higher education. As the initial phase of this process, young people who have graduated from a Kazakh school will be taught in their native language in the first and second year of college.

Interim scientific collectives are being created for the purpose of determining the need for, and then translating and publishing textbooks and teaching methods literature in the Kazakh language for subjects in the social, general science, and general engineering curriculums and for other specialized disciplines.

Beginning already this year, specialized courses are being included in the curriculums at all types of colleges to give students from the native ethnic group the best possible training in the fundamentals of pedagogy, psychology, and the methods of teaching their respective subjects, for the purpose of using them in the future as teachers at colleges and specialized secondary educational institutions in departments, where Kazakh is the language of instruction.

A purposeful training program, which is oriented toward pedagogical work in a college, using Kazakh as the language of instruction, is planned for graduate students. Their contingent is being increased on account of the growing personnel requirements at the colleges for those who can teach using the Kazakh language. Concrete measures for training specialists in simultaneous translation have also been defined.

It is also necessary to create conditions for conducting business in the Kazakh language in rayons and cities, where the portion of the population comprised by the Kazakh nationality reaches 70 percent or more in 1989-1990; 50-69 percent in 1991-1992; less than 50 percent in 1993-1994. It has been recommended that this resolution be considered and adopted at the sessions of the appropriate local Soviets of People's Deputies.

Beginning in 1990, a certification of appropriate government workers' ability to conduct business using the Kazakh language should be introduced and the system for keeping government statistical records in the republic should be converted to Kazakh-Russian bilingualism.

A training program for secretary-typists in conducting business in the Kazakh language will begin at 17 of the republic's vocational training schools. Two-year courses, sponsored by the republic, with a contingent of 150-200 people are also being organized in Alma-Ata for training specialists in taking shorthand in the Kazakh language.

In 1989, we will have to equip 1-2 rooms, at a minimum, in the oblast centers for public undertakings requiring simultaneous translation and in 1990, we will have to do the same in the rayon centers and in the cities.

It has been recommended that the managers at the ministries and departments proceed from the expediency of giving priority to individuals possessing real bilingualism, when selecting personnel for areas, requiring extensive daily contact with the Kazakh population, while giving immediate attention to the spheres of trade, medicine, communications, consumer services, transportation and to the notaries' offices, judicial and law enforcement agencies, and savings bank branch

offices. It is necessary to prepare and publish separate phrase books and terminological dictionaries for these spheres.

With a view to extending bilingualism, it is necessary that announcements and information be given in two languages at airports, railroad and bus terminals, river ports, in stores, and at all types of information bureaus and to ensure the production of the required amount of sets of phonograph records with recordings of colloquial speech and Kazakh language lessons for individuals who are studying independently. It is advisable to create a full-fledged educational Kazakh language training program for radio and television.

It has been suggested that the ministries and departments concerned develop a permanently operating system of measures for satisfying the cultural, educational, and linguistic needs of the Kazakhs living beyond the borders of the republic.

The decree emphasizes that the Ministries of Education and Health, the State Committee for Culture, the State Agricultural Industry, and other ministries and departments in the republic, which have educational institutions, should ensure the necessary conditions for the effective study of the Kazakh language in preschool institutions, schools providing a general education, vocational training schools, colleges, and specialized secondary educational institutions, strengthen their training facilities and assets, supply them with proper equipment, technical teaching devices, visual aids, textbooks, and teaching methods literature, and staff them with qualified pedagogical personnel.

It is necessary for the ministries, departments, obispolkoms, and the Alma-Ata and Leninskoye gorispolkoms to begin an aggressive, republic-wide introduction of conducting business in the Kazakh language, to develop and implement a system of measures, which ensure the necessary conditions for the realization of this task, and to determine the numerical proportion of copies of documents in the Kazakh and Russian languages, without allowing an increase in the total number of documents.

In accordance with established procedure, information concerning the pace of the implementation of this resolution will be presented every year in November to the republic's Council of Ministers.

**The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers issued a decree "On Supplementary Measures for Implementing the Resolutions of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers dated 3 March 1987 'On Improving the Study of the Russian language in the Republic.'"**

It was noted that certain work is being done in the republic to further improve the study and teaching of language. Language is the most important means of

interethnic intercourse and it promotes an active assimilation of the economic, scientific, and technical achievements and the political and cultural life of the peoples in our country, and the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of individuals from all nationalities.

At the same time, the opportunities at hand are still not being used in full measure. Individual requirements in the resolution of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers on improving the study of the Russian language are being realized slowly and this is inhibiting the development and realization of the principle of bilingualism as a norm in the life of the national republics. The necessary conditions for satisfying young people's needs in studying the Russian language still have not been created in some places. As before, part of the teachers do not have sufficient professional training, there is not enough teaching methods literature, and the mass media is used ineffectively for studying the Russian language.

Many graduates of educational institutions know the Russian language poorly and do not even possess sound skills in colloquial speech.

The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers has approved practical organizational measures and recommendations for further improvement in the study and teaching of the Russian language. During the period from 1990 to 1995, it is planned to provide all preschool institutions, where the language of instruction is not Russian, with qualified specialists for conducting lessons in the Russian language in accordance with the educational process. A long-term plan for publishing suitable teaching methods literature and visual educational aids for the national preschool institutions will be developed and its implementation will be ensured. In preschool institutions, where the language of instruction and education is not Russian, we will have to divide groups into subgroups during the study of the Russian language and extend the pay scale of Russian language and literature teachers in the national schools to the Russian language teachers working with these groups. We should also prepare and publish methodological references for the accelerated teaching of Russian colloquial speech to children, who are being educated in preschool institutions, where the language of instruction is not Russian. The required amendments are being made in the personnel training plans at colleges and specialized secondary educational institutions.

The question has been raised concerning the introduction of Russian language lessons in the 10th and 11th grades at schools providing general education, where the language of instruction is not Russian, to an extent, which takes into account the specific character of the school and ensures a sound knowledge of the Russian language. A special program of accelerated training in the Russian language is being developed for students at vocational training schools, who received their general secondary education at schools, in which the language of instruction was not Russian.

The system of national schools providing a general education, which have intensive study of the Russian language is being expanded, keeping in mind their establishment in each oblast center and major industrial center in the republic. The creation of a scientifically based system of teaching the Russian language in rural, understaffed national schools is considered necessary.

In 1990-1991, schools providing a general education with intensive study of the humanities in the Russian language will be established in each oblast center and the capital of the republic for students of national schools, who have displayed a special gift for the Russian language.

We will have to regulate the study of the Russian language in the Kazakh departments of the colleges with the compulsory inclusion of this subject in the curricula of all courses, taking into account the students' level of training and of their knowledge and skills in Russian colloquial speech. At the same time, we will have to ensure that the content of the Russian language training material at every college and specialized secondary education institution reflects the peculiarities of the specific professions.

Special elective courses, colloquial speech study groups, clubs, and literary societies will promote the continuation of intensive Russian language study by the graduates of the national schools at colleges and specialized secondary educational institutions.

It is planned to create a regional teaching methods center on the campus of the Kazakh Abay Pedagogical Institute to deal with the problems of studying Russian language and literature at educational institutions and in groups, where the language of instruction is not Russian. At the same time, the question of expanding the system for improving the professional skills of the faculties (FPK) at the pedagogical institutes for Russian language and literature teachers is being looked into. The training of Russian language teachers at colleges in the Uzbek SSR and Tajik SSR for schools, where the language of instruction is Uzbek and Tajik, will be continued on a cooperative basis with the introduction of appropriate changes in the plan for admitting students.

We should increase the effectiveness of Russian language instruction for young people undergoing preconscription military training, who speak colloquial Russian poorly, and ensure the systematic nature of lessons in courses and in groups of young people undergoing preconscription military training at schools providing a general education, vocational training schools and other educational institutions. And we should recruit qualified specialists for these goals. We have to activate the study of Russian language in the work collectives for individuals of non-Russian national origin, by creating and expanding a system of study groups, courses, and seminars in the factories, institutions, and organizations and by giving special attention to the study of Russian

language in the rayons, where business is conducted in Kazakh or other national languages.

Other measures are also planned, in particular, a more effective use of the capabilities of the mass media, especially television and radio, in Russian language study, the regular conducting of competitions and practical scientific conferences, the publishing of literature for mass use, etc.

The Ministries of Education and Health, the State Committee for Culture, the State Agricultural Industry, other ministries and departments, which have educational institutions, the oblast ispolkoms, and the Alma-Ata and Leninskoye gorispolkoms have been instructed to conduct an in-depth analysis of the state of Russian language study and teaching, to implement the necessary measures to create conditions, which will promote the effective study of this subject in the national preschool institutions, schools providing a general education, vocational training schools, and colleges and specialized secondary educational institutions, to provide them with qualified pedagogical personnel, textbooks, and Russian language teaching methods literature, and to increase the material resources of educational institutions.

Those responsible for the realization of the measures outlined above will annually present appropriate information to the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers by 1 November.

### **Kazakh Officials Retain Use of Reserved Dachas**

*18300810A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent in Kazakh SSR, O. Stefashin: "The Circular Defensive is Taken by Those Who Attempt to Retain Illegal Privileges"]

[Text] In no way did I expect that my request that we go to Karasye together would elicit such confusion in V. Shayuk, chairman of the Shchuchinsk city soviet executive committee:

"I would gladly keep you company, but I am afraid I will not even be allowed up to the fence."

What kind of a secret zone is this, to which even the mayor of the city is denied access? Is it possible that in my stupidity I had been attempting to convince him to penetrate some sort of covert objective? Not likely. We had been talking about the vacation home Karasye [literally, carp], which city residents call "the Kunayev dacha." The second name, it seems to me, explains a lot. But let us also listen to the chairman of the Shchuchinsk city planning committee, I. Sholokh.

"The republic's leaders," says Ivan Aleksandrovich, "have had their eyes on our resort zone for a long time. The former first secretary of the Kazakh CP central committee selected several places here where a private residency and four hunting lodges with open-air cages

were erected for him at the government's expense. Ministers and administrators at lower levels followed his lead. It got to the point where, due to the 'independent estates', there was no corner left in the city's environs that could accommodate a vacation home for simple workers."

"The process of renovation has changed many things," continues I. Sholokh. "Ministerial residencies and hunting lodges have been given to enterprise workers and children. Only the residency of the former Kazakh leader has remained whole. It is an eyesore for the entire city. The Borov village council and our city executive committee have addressed the Economic Administration of the republic Council of Ministers, the formal owner of the dacha, more than once: let it be made into a city maternity hospital or an Infant's Home. But the answer was a refusal."

As I was told by the General Department of the Kokchetavsk Oblast Executive Committee, war veterans and workers in creative unions send similar requests. And they, too, are faced with refusals. This makes people angry. Many of the people I have talked with have said that we, "are not blind, we see that the dacha is empty year-round; for whom is it being taken care of and why? And finally, why is it so shrouded in secrecy?"

I have visited Karasye and can bear witness: the city-dwellers' suspicions are not without grounds. That which is popularly called a "dacha" is in reality an entire complex of pompous buildings and domestic structures with a sauna, billiards and a viewing room for films. According to the documentation, their construction cost the government 156,733 rubles 51 kopeks. And in the opinion of specialists, it is doubtful that this amount of money covered even the marble finishing for the flights of stairs and the basements.

In the opinion of K. Kurmanov, head doctor at the Borovoe sanatorium, which is located close by, a treatment facility of any type with a minimum of 150 beds could be installed in the "dacha's" suites. And its construction would not require large expenditures.

And so for whom, in actuality, is Karasye being preserved? Is it really just as a "preventive measure" that sister-hostess N. Marochkina and four of her helpers daily wipe the dust from the furniture and vacuum the fluffy rugs? Of course not, I was assured by the Economic Administration of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers [KhoZu]. And they explained that the former estate, along with its Japanese services and reindeer antlers, has been the property of KhoZu's rank-and-file workers for two years already. They say that it was given to them as the Karasye vacation home, and that nearly 400 people visit each season. As proof, they showed me the latest lists: among the vacationers there was indeed not a single important personage.

But let us wait for a while before rejoicing for the sanitary workers and cleaning women who, it would

seem, have received splendid conditions for their vacations. It was not difficult to ascertain that they are taking up residence not in the luxurious chambers, but in seven small summer homes outside the bounds of the dacha zone. Eight to ten people are stuffed into crowded buildings...

As was announced at the Borov tree farm, whose personnel service the dacha, the contents of the suites that stay empty for months are worth 33,000 rubles.

Of course, one regrets the waste of money. But if only all of this were limited to solely material losses! The other kind is worse: the dacha, with its "old-regime" ways, sheltered from the eyes of outsiders, detracts from people's belief in the victory of justice.

The head of the Economic Administration of the republic's Council of Ministers, Yu. Krasikov, finally gave assurances that now many things would change at Karasye. I wonder what, exactly?

"We plan to utilize the dacha as a hunting lodge for Western millionaires," explains Yuriy Kirillovich. "Some of them are ready to pay any amount of money to hunt in our territories. Up until lately, everything has rested on the absence of an appropriate base. Now it will be at Karasye."

I do not argue that we probably need even these kinds of contacts with representatives of the Western world. Moreover, they will provide an entrance for hard currency. But this is the question: in the republic there is a catastrophic shortage of hospitals, polyclinics, and sanitation-preventive medicine facilities. The general treatment network is overloaded by 1.5 to 2 times, and the children's network even more. Until now, there have been no attempts to find room for health care for pregnant women. There is no rest zone for war veterans. Children's homes and maternity hospitals are in deplorable condition. How should we deal with these problems?

Giving the "Kunayev" suites to the Shchuchinsk maternity hospital or the Infant's Home, as popular opinion demands, could correct at least one of these injustices. But the administration of KhoZu does not want to hear about it.

"In my opinion," comments Yu. Krasikov, "we have been a little quick with the gift-giving here. We have been giving away residencies left and right, we have opened the 'small' hotels to general access, and what are we left with? It is a shame to say so, but now not every place is able to receive important guests properly!"

One might think that highly-placed personages who come to the republic for business stay wherever they end up or take shabby quadruple-occupancy hotel rooms. Of course not. A luxurious hotel of the closed "Dostyk" type has been erected especially for them in Alma-Ata, while in Kokchetav, for example, there are suites in the ordinary hotel that take into account the requirements of the

most demanding lodger. In addition, as Yu. Krasikov admitted, a stay in the residencies, apart from the living conveniences, guarantees the guest the partial preservation of his personal budget. After all, for a room costing 11-14 rubles, he contributes not more than four. You will agree, that, especially today, this benefit is one that is difficult to understand.

IZVESTIYA has already written more than once on the depraved system for the closed distribution of socialist benefits has taken root deeply in Kazakhstan. The curative process, begun by the new leadership over two years ago, has altered the situation. It is sufficient to say that in a fairly short period 247 "small" hotels, 84 cottages, 414 guest apartments and 22 hunting lodges have been "requisitioned" from the privileged estate and turned over for utilization as hospitals, Pioneer camps, dormitories and living quarters for people in great need. It seemed to a lot of people that social justice would pick up speed. But the unforeseeable occurred: the democratic changes began to encounter open opposition, and then to roll backwards. Naturally, the question arises: how does one understand this? The chief doctor of the republic hospital for war invalids and afgantsi [veterans of the war in Afghanistan], V. Slesarev, has reached this disturbing conclusion:

"It is the one thought that they could lose their privileges that is forcing officials to consolidate their forces and take up a strong circular defensive."

V. Slesarev speaks from his own bitter experience. This is not the first year that he and the public have haunted the doorways of government offices, attempting to show that the hospital is urgently in need of aid. Its dilapidated buildings are in dangerous condition and may at any moment collapse. Besides this, in Alma-Ata there are two polyclinics belonging to the Main Fourth Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health. They are obviously not being utilized to their full capacity. And at least one could be given to the invalids.

"There was a time when the administration of the republic agreed to discuss our proposal," explains V. Slesarev. "But then the people who enjoy the services of the polyclinic interfered in what was happening, and the matter was closed..."

Last year, in the publication "They Are Tired of Playing at Reconstruction" (IZVESTIYA No. 75), we reported on an unprecedented event that occurred in the Turgay Oblast: the local administration took from the collective of a boxite mining administration a "small" hotel that had been given to them earlier. Naturally, it was expected that such a shocking deed would receive a principled judgement "at the top." However, alas, one was not forthcoming. Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Ye. Bashmakov, who signed the official response to the editorial staff, generally acted as if nothing out of the ordinary had happened. "The former 'small' hotel building," he announces, "has been transferred to the balance of the Arkalyk city economic

committee in view of the acute shortage of hotel rooms in the city. An affiliate of the Arkalyk hotel has been opened here. It will be furnished in accordance with the general residence category of hotels." But 'general', it turns out, does not mean for everyone. The prestigious residence, as Arkalyk city executive council chairman A. Dzhalalov has admitted, receives only select guests, as before.

I understand that it is difficult to fight the systems that have been propagated in Kazakhstan over a period of many years. But is it also clear that we cannot put up with them, these systems, either! The disgraceful system for the distribution of social benefits, which in its time was nearly drawn into the framework of state policy, has essentially led to the stratification of society.

...Do you know what amazed me more than anything else in Shchuchinsk, in Karasye itself? Everything there has remained the way it was before. Shag robes are hung in the bathrooms. On the shelves are shampoo and toothbrushes in cellophane. One gets the impression that the old owners of these suites have just stepped out for a while and will be right back.

#### **Myrzaliyeva Comments on Kirghiz Draft Laws, Commission Work**

*18300842 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian, 5 Sep 89 p 1-2*

[Speech by A.M. Myrzaliyeva, secretary of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Toward Total Government by the People on the Basis of Democracy"]

[Text] First of all, I want to say that the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet formed the working groups for the working out of the Kirghiz SSR Draft Laws "On Changes and Additions to the Kirghiz SSR Constitution," "On the Elections of Kirghiz SSR People's Deputies" and "On the Elections of Deputies to the Kirghiz SSR's Local Soviets of People's Deputies." The Bureau of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee formed the working group for the drawing up of the Draft Law "On the Kirghiz SSR State Language." The indicated commission was made up of USSR People's Deputies, deputies from the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, scholars, jurists, and administrators and specialists from the ministries, departments and others.

The authoritative commissions worked on the drawing up of the draft laws for more than 3 months. The drafts worked out by them were examined at a sitting of the Supreme Soviet's Commission for Legislative Proposals and the deputies made important amendments to them. Then the drafts of the documents were discussed at a sitting of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium and, on its decision, submitted for public discussion.

It must be emphasized that the drafts of these laws were worked out on the basis of the decisions and recommendations of the 19th Party Conference, of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and of the session of the

USSR Supreme Soviet. They are basically aimed at the insertion into the laws of such changes and additions, the purpose of which is the realization of the first stage of the reform of the political system, which provides for the further development of socialist democracy and the people's self-management and the improvement of the electoral system and of the structure and activities of the soviets of people's deputies and of the organs of justice.

The draft of the Law on Changes and Additions to the Kirghiz SSR Constitution provides for new wording for Section 9, "The System and Principles of the Activities of the Soviets of People's Deputies," Section 10, "The Electoral System," Section 12, "The Kirghiz SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet," Articles 74, 75, 93, 96, 117, 120, 132, 133, 151, 152, 154, and 172, and also inserts changes into a number of articles of the Kirghiz SSR Constitution.

It is proposed that, within the system of soviets of people's deputies, the Kirghiz SSR Congress of People's Deputies, acting as the republic's highest organ of state power, be empowered to decide any question pertaining to the authority of the Kirghiz SSR. The exclusive jurisdiction of the Congress of People's Deputies has been defined.

The Kirghiz SSR Congress of People's Deputies will consist of 350 people's deputies, elected by territorial electoral districts.

The Congress of People's Deputies will meet for its own regular sittings once a year. The first sitting of the congress after the elections will elect the republic's Supreme Soviet, the Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, his first deputy and deputy, as well as the Kirghiz SSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision.

Changes are being made to the structure and functions of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, which will consist of 65 people's deputies and one-fifth of its membership is to be replaced every year. It will become the republic's permanently operating legislative, administrative and control organ of state power, which will meet for its own regular sessions twice a year, each one lasting, as a rule, for up to 1 month. Its powers have also been defined in the draft law.

The new Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet is defined as an organ which is not elected, but rather, has a specific membership. By virtue of their positions, the members will be the Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, the First Deputy and Deputy Chairmen of the Supreme Soviet, the Chairman of the Committee of People's Control and the chairmen of the permanent commissions. It will be the organizing center of the highest organ of state power, accountable to the Supreme Soviet and called upon to ensure the efficient operation of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet.

The Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet will head up the work of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium formed by it.

Provision is being made as well for the establishment of presidiums in the local soviets of people's deputies. The presidiums, headed up by the chairmen of the soviets, should organize the work of the oblast, rayon, city and city rayon soviets, while, in the city (of rayon subordination), settlement and rural soviets, the chairmen should organize the work. The presidiums and chairmen of the local soviets will engage in the organization of the work of the soviets and the deputies, without substituting for the soviets' executive committees to the slightest extent.

It is proposed that there be a Kirghiz SSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision within the system of the highest organs of state power. In principle, this is a new organ, which will be elected by the Kirghiz SSR Congress of People's Deputies for a term of 10 years and will provide control over the conformity with the Kirghiz SSR Constitution of the laws promulgated in the republic, of the government's decrees and of the standard acts of the oblast, city and rayon soviets and of other state organs and public organizations.

The role of the permanent commissions is being enhanced substantially and an expansion is being planned of their powers both in the area of legislative drafting work and in the solution of economic, social, cultural, personnel and other problems.

Provision is being made for the laws and other decisions of the congress and the Supreme Soviet to be adopted after preliminary discussion of the drafts by the corresponding permanent commissions and the appointment and election of officials to the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, the Kirghiz SSR Committee of People's Control, the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Court, the boards of the Kirghiz SSR Procurator's Office, and the Kirghiz SSR State Board of Arbitration, as well as of the judges of the oblast and Frunze City courts, of the people's judges of the rayon people's courts of the rayons and cities of republic subordination, to be made upon the availability of the conclusion of the corresponding permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Certain changes pertain to the republic's highest organs of state management. Thus, provision is being made for the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers to be responsible to the Kirghiz SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the republic's Supreme Soviet and accountable to them. No less often than once a year, it should give a report to the Supreme Soviet on the most important questions of the republic's economic and social development. Its chairman will be appointed by the Supreme Soviet and confirmed at the Kirghiz SSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The same principle is being established with regards to the heads of the Committee of People's Control, the Supreme Court and the Chief State Arbitrator.

The proposed new clause regarding the incompatibility of the status of a people's deputy with specified official positions is important. Persons who are members of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and the executive committees of local soviets, with the exception of the chairmen of these organs, the heads of departments [vedomstvo], departments [otdel] and administrations of the local soviets' ispolkoms, judges and state arbitrators, members of the Committee for Constitutional Supervision, and the heads of other state organs may not be deputies in the soviet by which they are appointed or elected. Moreover, it is being established that this officials, as a rule, may not hold their own positions for more than two terms in succession.

Changes are being introduced, which are aimed at improving the activities of the organs of justice, strengthening the authority of the independence of the court, changing the mechanism for the formation of the judicial organs and expanding the guarantees of the independence and immunity of the judges. Provision is being made for the election of the judges of all levels for a term of ten years. The people's judges of the rayon (city) people's courts will be elected by the corresponding superior soviets of people's deputies, while the judges of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Court and of the oblast and Frunze City courts, as well as the people's judges of the rayon (city) people's courts of rayons and cities of republic subordination will be elected by the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet. The judges and people's assessors will be provided with conditions for the unhindered and effective exercise of their rights and duties.

The draft law contains a number of important changes and additions to the constitutional regulations of the electoral system, which are aimed at strengthening the democratic bases for the preparations for and the conducting of the elections. These changes and additions formed the basis of the drafts of the laws on the elections of Kirghiz SSR People's Deputies and of the deputies of the local soviets.

A change has been made in the age qualification of a candidate for deputy. The draft of the Law on Elections stipulates that a citizen of the Kirghiz SSR, who has attained the age of 21, may be elected a Kirghiz SSR People's Deputy, while one, who has attained the age of 18 and, as a rule, resides in the territory of a given local soviet, may be elected a people's deputy of the local soviet. The right to nominate candidates for people's deputies has been granted to the labor collectives, the collectives of secondary and university students and teachers, public organizations and assemblies of voters by place of residence and of military personnel by military units.

The main thing in the elections is the activism of the voters. The drafts of the laws on elections have been called upon to ensure a key role for the voters and their collectives in all stages of the preparations for and the conducting of the elections. The unfortunate practice of selecting candidates exclusively by "biographical data"

is being stopped. It is precisely in this method that there was excessive organization and bureaucratization of the electoral system and outright scorn for public opinion.

Conditions are being created at assemblies for the nomination of an unlimited number of candidates. Each participant in an election assembly can submit for discussion any candidacies, including his own.

The opportunity for the nomination of alternative candidates, while not precluded by previous legislation, was worded obscurely. In practice, only one candidate was nominated for one position. Now the draft laws are setting it up like this: any number of candidates may be included on the ballots.

Proceeding from the practice of the conducting of the election campaign for the last elections of USSR People's Deputies, the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet did not consider it expedient to include in the draft law a clause regarding the conducting of district election assemblies.

The draft does not make provision for introducing in the republic representation from public organizations, i.e., electing Kirghiz SSR People's Deputies from public organizations, and all the deputies will be elected on a universal basis.

A change is being made to the procedure for the nomination and registration of candidates for Kirghiz SSR People's Deputies. The nomination of candidates for deputies is supposed to be done at assemblies (conferences) of the labor collectives of enterprises and institutions and of organizations which have no fewer than 100 workers and are located in the territory of the corresponding electoral district, while labor collectives which have fewer than 100 workers and are located in the territory of a single electoral district may conduct the nomination of candidates for deputies at a joint assembly.

An assembly of voters by place of residence is authorized to nominate a candidate for deputy, if, present at it, there are no fewer than 200 voters who reside in the territory of a given district.

The local soviets have been granted the right to determine themselves the minimum number of members of labor collectives and collectives of secondary and university students and the number of voters by place of residence, who have the right to nominate candidates for deputies. Included in the draft laws is a rule that a candidate who is not elected in one district may not stand for election in the repeat elections. It is being proposed that a single-mandate and multiple-mandate system of elections be used in the local soviets. We also consider as inadvisable the issuing to the voters of voting right certificates and the compiling of supplementary lists of voters.

It is being stipulated that it is within the powers of the precinct election commission to accept from voters who



will be absent from their place of residence on election day or from their authorized representatives election ballots or election envelopes.

Previously, a deputy who received more than half of the votes of all the voters of a district was considered to be elected. Now, the principle goes like this: the elections are considered to have taken place if more than half of the voters entered on the lists participated in them. A candidate for deputy who received more than half of the votes of the voters who participated in the balloting is considered to be elected—also an important amendment.

The draft laws are being based on such principles of Soviet election law as the conducting of elections by election commissions and the participation of citizens, labor collectives, collectives of secondary and university students and public organizations in the preparations for and the conducting of the elections.

The elections of people's deputies are being organized completely by the election commissions. The role of state organs has been reduced to a minimum.

One of the special features of the new election legislation is the enhancement of the role of the labor collectives in the election procedures. The labor collectives, collectives of secondary and university students and public organizations are participating in the preparations for and the conducting of the elections both through their own representatives in the election commissions and directly. They are nominating candidates for deputies and members of the election commissions and are sending representatives to their meetings. This includes during the registration of candidates for deputies and the summation of the results of the balloting.

Also formulated in the draft law is such a principle of Soviet election law as glasnost.

Glasnost, with regards to the elections, entails three requirements. First, informing the citizens about everything which is associated with the elections and at all stages of the election campaign. Second, openness of the work of the election commissions. Third, the establishment of guarantees for the mass media. They inform about the course of the preparations for and the conducting of the elections. They are being guaranteed unhindered access to all assemblies and meetings and are being provided with information associated with the preparations for and the conducting of the elections.

The participation of state organs has been narrowed substantially and the center of gravity is shifting from the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet to the Supreme Soviet itself and from the ispolkoms to the local soviets. The elections of the republic's people's deputies are being scheduled by the Supreme Soviet and it is the one (and not the Presidium) which forms the Republic Election Commission.

The election precincts are being formed today by the rayon, city (except for cities of rayon subordination) and city rayon soviets or their presidiums. Previously, this was done by the ispolkoms, while, in military units, this was done by their commanders. Correspondingly, the responsibility for notifying the voters about the boundaries of each election precinct, with an indication of the location of the precinct election commission and the polling place, is being placed not on the executive organs, but rather, on the soviets or their presidiums.

The nomination and registration of candidates for people's deputies are becoming extremely crucial stages.

It is no accident that the new law allots up to 2 months for both procedures, i.e., more than twice as much time in comparison with the previous procedure. The increase in the time frames is quite explainable. With each collective having the opportunity to nominate and discuss an unlimited number of candidacies, time will be required in order to think without haste and to determine the most deserving persons. In the situation with alternative candidates, even more so when they are from different collectives, it is impossible, as the saying goes, to pick the best ones in a hurry. This is worth doing with careful reflection.

For the first time, the right to nominate candidates for deputies is being granted to assemblies of voters by place of residence and collectives of university and secondary students.

Previously, the conducting of campaigning on election day was prohibited only at the polling place. Now, the requirement has become broader and campaigning on election day is not permitted, i.e., it can not be done anywhere—not on the street nor when someone is approaching a polling place nor with the aid of visual materials.

Such are the main special features and significant items of the drafts of the new laws and the procedure for the elections of Kirghiz SSR People's Deputies and the deputies of the local soviets.

The discussed draft laws are the juridical foundation of the reform of the political system and a large step along the path of the democratization of society, the ensuring of the sovereignty of the soviets and the establishment of a socialist law-governed state.

The public discussion of the draft laws is generating the most lively interest in the republic's inhabitants. Thousands of people are participating in their discussion in the labor collectives and in the pages of the republic and local press. And it must be stated that the published draft laws are finding approval and support everywhere and, at the same time, quite a few proposals for their improvement are being submitted. In the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a working group has been formed to summarize the comments and proposals which are arriving over the course of the discussion.



For the purposes of elucidation of the main clauses of the laws, the further raising of the people's activism, the more complete consideration of their proposals and additions, the senior officials of the Presidium's apparatus are making local visits and participating in the discussion of the draft laws in the labor collectives and in rural gatherings.

After the preliminary examination by the Commission for Legislative Proposals and the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet, the draft laws will be submitted for the examination of the deputies at an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, which will begin its own work on 22 September of this year.

### **Myrzaliyeva Comments on Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Decrees**

*18300802 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 4*

[Speech by A. M. Myrzaliyeva, secretary of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "On Ratification of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

I have been commissioned to report to you about the decrees which have been passed by the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium following its eighth session and which, according to Article 109 of the Kirghiz SSR Constitution, are subject to ratification by the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet.

These decrees mainly concern further improvement of the republic's laws, bringing them into line with the laws of the USSR, as well as other questions of governmental life within the republic, and they are aimed at creating a firm legal basis for the process of perestroika, at democratization of the social and political life of the republic, at consolidating legality and law and order, and at increasing protection of the rights and freedoms of our citizens.

Work continues within the republic to improve management of the national economy. In this connection, following a proposal of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, a decree was passed on 19 January 1989 concerning transformation of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport into a Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Physical Culture, Sport, and Tourism.

Ratification of this decree raises a requirement to make a corresponding change in Article 23 of the law "On the Kirghiz Council of Ministers," which contains a list of the union-republic state committees of the Kirghiz SSR.

Ascribing important significance to accelerating resolution of the housing problem and considering the desire of many citizens to acquire their own apartments, the Soviet government has given local soviets of peoples deputies, enterprises, associations, and organizations the right to sell to citizens, as their own personal property, the apartments they occupy in buildings that belong to

the state and to the public housing fund as well vacant apartments in buildings that are slated for reconstruction or capital repair. Apartments in newly constructed buildings may be sold to citizens as their personal property after they have been occupied in accordance with established procedures. Taking account of this situation, the Supreme Soviet Presidium has introduced an appropriate amendment to Article 4 of the Kirghiz SSR housing code.

With the aims of creating a reliable and well-built network of motor vehicle roads within the country, particularly in rural localities, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has established a nationwide standard maximum percentage of deductions from the funds of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, enterprises, and economic organizations for the construction, reconstruction, repair, and maintenance of local roads (including oblast roads), has introduced a tax on vehicles belonging to enterprises and organizations, and has also changed the size of the tax assessed citizens who are vehicle owners. In connection with this, the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has passed a corresponding decree on this question and has recognized as no longer valid all laws of the Kirghiz SSR on the participation of state and cooperative enterprises and economic organizations in the construction and repair of local motor vehicle roads.

By a decree of 28 April 1989, the Presidium introduced changes and amendments to the criminal and criminal procedure codes of the Kirghiz SSR with the aim of bringing certain norms contained in these into agreement with the Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 8 April 1989 "On the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to the USSR Law On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes" and Several Other Legislative Acts of the USSR." In place of the earlier effective standards of responsibility for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (Art. 64 of the Kirghiz SSR Criminal Code) and for dissemination of intentionally false fabrications, defaming the Soviet state and social system (Art. 196, para 1), the new legislation envisages criminal punishment only for public calls to overthrow the Soviet state and social order or for its change by means which conflict with the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Kirghiz SSR, and likewise for the dissemination of materials with such a content. Responsibility for violations of ethnic and racial equal rights have been formulated anew.

Paragraph 1 of Article 68, introduced by this same decree, which stipulates criminal responsibility for public insult to or discrediting of supreme and certain other USSR and Kirghiz SSR governmental and administrative organs, a number of officials, as well as a number of public organizations and their organs, was later revoked by the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in keeping with the decisions of the Congress of USSR Peoples Deputies.

A decree was passed "On the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to the Kirghiz SSR Code on Administrative Law Violations," directed at putting a end to the illegal sale of goods from warehouses, bases, and ancillary premises of trade and public catering enterprises, the concealment of products from buyers by workers in the trade network, the under-the-table sale of industrial goods at unauthorized places, and also the illegal sale by citizens of goods or other objects, not produced by them, at prices which exceed effective state retail prices. Administrative liability has been increased for petty speculation by an individual who, within the past of a year, has already been subject to administrative punishment for the same violation.

Changes and amendments have also been made to the Kirghiz SSR Code on Administrative Law Violations as a result of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 6 February 1989 "On the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to USSR Legislative Acts Concerning Responsibility for Violations of Road Traffic Regulations."

On 30 June 1989, a decree was issued "On Income Tax from Cooperatives," which sets rates of income tax from cooperatives in dependence upon the types and goals of their activities, the conditions of their material and technical supply and sale of products (work, services), price formation and level of earnings. With the goal of stimulating production of products (work, services) necessary to the population and national economy and of reducing prices (tariffs) for them, corresponding soviets of peoples deputies that have registered the charter of a cooperative have been given the right to reduce tax rates or to free individual cooperatives from the imposition of a tax for a certain period of time.

In keeping with the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Additional Measures to Develop the Individual Small Holdings of Citizens and Collective Gardening and Market Gardening" the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has introduced changes and additions to the civil and land codes and to certain other Kirghiz SSR legislative acts. In particular, it has been stipulated that the size of personal plots and norms for the keeping of cattle and poultry on the individual small holdings of citizens are to be set by rural, village, and city soviets, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. The plots of land devoted to collective gardening and market gardens are to be allocated from the lands of the state land fund, including when necessary the lands of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises, on the basis of decisions made by the executive committees of rayon and city soviets of peoples deputies in accordance with approved distribution plans.

At the representation of the Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed and removed a number of Kirghiz SSR government officials.

In connection with his retirement, Comrade Oleg Borisovich Ponomarev has been relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Iordan, who previously worked as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Transport and Roads, has been appointed to this position.

In connection with her transfer to other work, Comrade Roza Isakovna Otunbayeva has been relieved of her responsibilities as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kirghiz SSR Minister of Foreign Affairs. On 1 March 1989, a decree was passed appointing Comrade Zhanyl Tumenbayevna Tumenbayeva deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In connection with his transfer to other work, Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Ryabokon has been relieved of his duties as chairman of the republic KGB. Comrade Dzhumabe Asanulov has been appointed chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Committee for State Security.

In connection with his transfer to other duties, Comrade Nasirdin Isanov was relieved of his duties as first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Construction and as minister of the Kirghiz SSR. First Deputy Chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Construction, Comrade Aleksandr Alekseyevich Panasenko was named a minister of the Kirghiz SSR.

Comrade Bulat Akunovich Akkaznev was appointed chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Statistics and Comrade Tolobay Abdyshevich Malabekov was relieved of this position in connection with his retirement for reasons of health.

#### Other appointments:

Comrade Akun Toktosartov, as Kirghiz SSR Minister of Culture,

Comrade Eshim Kutmanalnev as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism,

Comrade Dzhumakadyr Ubyshiev, as chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Transportation and Roads.

Certain changes were made in the composition of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee of Peoples Control.

Comrade Esenkul Aliyev was approved first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Committee of Peoples Control and Comrade Turgunaly Amanaliyevich Amanaliyev was relieved of these responsibilities in connection with his retirement.

Comrades Vladimir Aleksandrovich Vostrikov, deputy editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, and Akyibe Usenkulovich Dzhumbayev, secretary of the Kirghiz Komsomol, were confirmed as members of the Committee of Peoples Control In connection with their

transfer to other work, comrades Nikolay Aleksandrovich Kokhanov and Alikbek Dzhekshenkulov were relieved of this responsibility.

Changes were made also in the composition of the republic Supreme Court. Named members of the court were comrades Abdygapar Shakirov and Berdibek Esenbayev.

Besides this, in accordance with Article 152 of the USSR Constitution, edition of 1 December 1988, the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet passed decrees on the selection of comrades Galina Mikhaylovna Chizhikova as deputy chairman and Adila Anarbayevicha Bazarbayeva and Minzhashara Zholdosheva

as members of the Osh Oblast court, Zhanybeka Raimbeovicha Kubatova as a member of the Frunze city court, Sharshenbeka Abdysheva, Muslima Ishekeyevicha Sultanaliyeva, Kenzhebeka Sayakobicha Sultanaliyeva, and Seytbaya Sultanova as peoples judges of the Kirov, Alamedinskiy, Leninpolskiy, and Talas rayon peoples courts respectively.

Comrade deputies! You have the drafts of the corresponding laws and resolutions of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet on confirmation of these decrees as well as other materials pertaining to them. The Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium asks you to examine the proposed drafts and ratify them.

**Association of Ukrainians in Lithuania Chairman Interviewed**

90UN0028A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
14 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with V. Kapkan, chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Lithuania, by V. Skripov: "Finding Their Roots: Ukrainians in Lithuania"]

[Text] Among representatives of the nationalities residing in the republic, Ukrainians make up a little more than 1 percent of the population. That is about 40,000 people. A wave of rebirth, awakening the interest of the local so-called "ethnic minorities" to problems of preserving and developing their culture, has touched the Ukrainians earlier than most. Today our correspondent interviews Vasil' Kapkan, chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Lithuania.

[Skripov] At the Lithuanian Cultural Foundation, where I went for information, they especially recommended your organization to me. They said that its emergence and success might be one of the most striking examples of this type of association. Tell me how it came about.

[Kapkan] The idea of creating a Ukrainian cultural society came up in the fall of last year. I believe it was in October: There was a radio program about the Belorussian club "Syabryna." In particular, they talked on the program about Dmitr Cherednichenko, a Ukrainian translator of Lithuanian, and Mykol Stanovich, a young poet and student at Vilnius University. I met the latter, and for a long time we discussed the problems of developing an ethnic culture. Soon other like-minded people appeared, among them Valeriy Lobunets, actor in the Russian drama theater, the engineer Sergey Bokaryuk, the programmer Ivan Yuzych, the Zaychenko family, etc.

Announcements were made on our behalf in the newspaper ATGIMIMAS and on "Vecherniye Novosti," and our first organizational meeting took place in December. We ratified our charter and program there, and soon afterwards we registered ourselves with the Lithuanian Cultural Foundation. Today we already have small branches in Elektrenai, Kaunas, Siauliai, Jonav, and Mazeikiai.

[Skripov] What kind of statutory requirements have you included in your program?

[Kapkan] I think that they are entirely traditional for societies of this type: The study of the history and cultural traditions of Ukrainians, their national language and literature, and the creation and development of artistic works and amateur activities. Incidentally, we have determined that our association has a precursor—the Ukrainian Society, which existed from 1928 to 1934 with its center in Kaunas. The society organized concerts, broadcast weekly half-hour radio programs in Ukrainian, and published 17 bulletins. For now we can only broadcast one program per month, and we only dream about our own printing capability.

[Skripov] And what do you have for material resources?

[Kapkan] For the time being, unfortunately, we do not have our own financial resources, and we exist thanks to support from the Cultural Foundation. The Palace of Trade Unions has allotted us some space where we gather on Sundays for our activities, and sometimes we also use its stage for meetings and concerts. In the spring Ukrainian language courses were held on an experimental basis. I am pleased to note that the city department of public education reacted to the idea with understanding. Some material prerequisites were established for teaching children and adults Ukrainian language, history, geography, and culture. There is a large supply of textbooks on the individual subjects, and from admirers of Ukrainian culture we have received various films and records with recordings of popular and modern music. In secondary school No. 6, not far from Lenin Square, we are preparing for the festive opening of a Ukrainian Sunday school where we, to make use of this opportunity, invite all who cherish and esteem our national values.

In the future, certainly, we will establish our own financial base. The activities that we organize should become sources of revenue: concerts, exhibitions, shows, and, if possible, some kind of publishing activity or the manufacture of souvenirs with an ethnic flavor.

[Skripov] And what interesting things have you managed to organize within the framework of the association?

[Kapkan] Our activities consist mainly of forming contacts with various interesting collectives and people in the Ukraine. We invite them to the republic and organize meetings and concerts. We were recently visited, in particular, by two original artistic collectives from L'vov: "Tovarystvo Leva" ("Society of the Lion") and an experimental drama school "Ne Zhurys" ("Do Not Be Sad"). One of the most memorable events was a concert by Nina Matviyenko, a UkSSR folk artist from Kiev and a most popular performer of folk songs. The hall at the Palace of Trade Unions was overflowing, and the people laughed and cried. And the bandura players Vasil' and Mykola Lytvyn performed successfully in Vilnius and Sneckus.

The association observed Taras Shevchenko's anniversary (in March of this year) rather elaborately. We organized several evening events and a reading of the poet's works in Russian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian. The central event in the series of activities was undoubtedly the evening in the Old City of Vilnius near the university where a memorial plaque to Shevchenko was placed. There were flowers, poems, and candles.

Incidentally, the Kiev professor Anatoliy Nepokupnyy, who is studying in particular that period Shevchenko spent in Vilnius (1829-1831), has determined that the landowner Engelgard, who employed Shevchenko as a servant, did not live at the governor's court, but rather at another place—Piles Street, 10. Consequently the plaque was put up in the wrong place, and we want to have it

moved. The association is also trying to open a museum in the house where the poet lived. We want to make it into a place where we can have continuous displays of Ukrainian art. And certainly the time that Kobzar' spent in Lithuania, though short, was rich in experiences for him. Here he sketched his first portrait and fell in love for the first time...

[Skrupov] And what are your latest initiatives?

[Kapkan] This probably belongs more to the category of charitable acts. From the newspapers I receive from my homeland, Zhitomir Oblast, we learned that provision of food to children on the border of the Chernobyl'skiy Rayon is in a bad state. I am referring specifically to the area of Narodichi, which directly adjoins the 30-kilometer Chernobyl zone. Despite the fact that theoretically the land beyond the borders of the zone is considered safe, in practice it simply is not so. Measurements in many places show an increase in radiation, which, moreover, is changing. The low doses of radiation have caused illnesses to develop in the children, particularly enlargement of the thyroid gland. The local authorities are still trying to decide whether or not to move the people from there. And they do not have enough food there, especially dairy products because they are not allowed to use the local milk. So we went to the Lithuanian Ministry of Trade and "Sayudis" with a request to allot funds and render all possible aid to the children of that region. On 23 August a car arrived there with 900 rubles of food-stuffs. Of course the aid was symbolic, but it drew the attention of the local organs. And the show of friendly concern was extremely important to the people affected.

[Skrupov] These days politics has a great influence on our life, and it is difficult to remain uninvolved. Will the association become involved in politics in any fashion, or will it stay on the sidelines?

[Kapkan] No, we do not intend to shy away from politics. Moreover, we plan to create a political club in the near future. We maintain contacts with the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika, and we are in constant contact with "Sayudis" and the interethnic coordinating association. We will also have our own religious communities: the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Independent Orthodox Churches.

However, the principle behind the formation of our association is not determined by politics but by culture. That is, a person can come to us with any political views, from the extreme "right" to the "superleft" so long as he cherishes the values of the national culture: the language, history, art, etc. And we must create the conditions so that, seated at the discussion table with his fellow countrymen, he will have the opportunity to hear out the opposing side and to express his own views. We also want to know about the situation in the Ukraine and to express our attitudes to events which occur there. We believe the association must be based on that which unites people, not on that which divides them.

### Lithuanian Poles Discuss Grievances with Republic Authorities

90UN0029A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
14 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Problems Can Only Be Resolved Through Democratic Means"]

[Text] As we have already reported, a meeting between party and government workers and representatives of Polish society of Vilnius, Moletskiy, Shalchininskiy, Shvenchenskiy, Trakayskiy, Varenskiy, and Vilnyusskiy Rayons took place at the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on 12 September. Economic and social development issues and the cultural and spiritual lives of these rayons were discussed during the meeting.

Statistical data were cited during the discussion of economic and social issues. They showed that we have sought to equally develop all rayons of the republic during the postwar period in contrast to the assertions of some participants in the discussion. Indicators of socio-economic development of rayons of Vilnius Kray are essentially the same as the average throughout the republic, although they vary considerably among themselves. For example, there are 11.8 deaths (up to 1 year of age) per thousand newborns throughout the republic, but in Shalchininskiy Rayon it was 8.4, Shirvintskiy—8.6, Trakayskiy—11.2, Shvenchenskiy—11.4, and Vilnyusskiy—15.4. Now in the republic there are 102 hospital beds per 10,000 residents, in Shalchininskiy Rayon—108, Shirvintskiy—109, and alas only 81 in Trakayskiy. In rayons of the fourth economic group, fixed capital in agriculture totals 25,500 rubles per worker, Vilnyusskiy Rayon—23,000, Shalchininskiy—17,800, Shirvintskiy—24,100, Shvenchenskiy—30,500, and Trakayskiy—21,500 rubles. These and many other figures mentioned at the meeting are evidence that the assertions continually being repeated by certain people that the rayons of Vilnius Kray are being discriminated against are unfounded. This confuses both the residents of the whole republic and the residents of these rayons, causes their dissatisfaction, and inflames needless passions.

With the implementation of the concept of economic self-reliance and the transition of workers collectives to total cost accounting in the republic, everyone will get even greater opportunities to better satisfy their material requirements. Obviously it was pointed out at the meeting that republic agencies must help these rayons to solve those problems which they themselves cannot deal with.

There are complaints almost always and everywhere that there are not enough schools and classes taught in the Polish language in Vilnyusskiy Kray, there are not enough teachers and they are poorly housed which forces them to seek employment in other locations, and that the material base of educational institutions has been neglected. The discussion's participants admitted that the situation can be corrected in individual situations and that the Ministry of Public Education and especially

rayon executive committees must manifest greater initiative and native intelligence in this matter.

However, quite a bit has been done in this area recently. Additional classes have been opened in 14 mixed schools for children of Polish nationality since the beginning of the current school year. The number of children in Polish kindergartens has almost doubled. Vilnius Teachers' College is preparing teachers for them. A group which trains future primary schools teachers is operating at the Vilnius Pedagogical Institute for the second year. The number of Polish language classes has been increased and elective Polish history courses have been introduced. This year for the first time all university applicants of Polish nationality who are entering into Republic VUZes [higher educational institutions] can take examinations in their native language. However, these opportunities are not being utilized everywhere. Instances where many children of Polish nationality are selecting schools which do not conduct classes in their native language rang out like a rebuke. Preschool institutions are being manned with difficulty in certain places.

In recent years, the issue has been persistently raised about founding a Polish VUZ that would prepare national economic and public health experts, and cultural and education workers. For example, it was proposed that such a VUZ be founded based on Vilnyuskiy and Buyvidishskiy Sovkhoz Technical Schools and also that a department of Polish Folklore be established at Vilnius Pedagogical Institute. Furthermore, Polish groups could be established at Vilnius University, at religious seminaries, and at other higher schools.

It was noted at the meeting that these suggestions must be deeply studied. One can elaborate a concept for teaching a humanitarian intelligentsia of nationalities which lives in Lithuania. On the other hand, Polish and other nationalities societies should manifest quite a bit more interest and a businesslike attitude toward studying the requirements for experts of these specialties, and finally, in elaborating the concept itself.

An exchange of opinions on the possibilities for increasing the network of cultural institutions and improving their material base occurred at the meeting. First of all, it is necessary to master those capital investments which are allocated for construction of houses of culture. Rayispolkoms and other customers could render a great deal of assistance to republic organizations in this matter, especially to the Republic Construction Association.

On the other hand, the establishment of a professional Polish theater in Vilnius and the opening of a branch of the institute of culture at the Vilnius Sovkhoz Technical School are planned with the goal of better satisfying the cultural demands of the whole region. It was proposed that the appropriate departments publish more books in the Polish language, that Polish literature departments be established at public libraries, and that the possibility

of increasing the length of radio and television broadcasts in the Polish language be explored. Yet one more periodical will soon see the light. All of this is the result of constructive cooperation of the government, various republic departments and organizations, and the Union of Lithuanian Poles. That is why it was noted during the meeting that there are no alternatives to such cooperation, all the more so since there are many unresolved problems of socio-economic and cultural life which are urgent both for Poles and for peoples of other nationalities. Joint efforts must be directed at solving precisely these problems.

Passions have flared up among Polish society because of the Decree on Proclaiming Lithuanian the State Language. It was once again emphasized during the meeting that the decree is in no way directed against Polish or against any other languages used in the republic. It is quite another matter that they sometimes attempt to apply this decree too bureaucratically and we need to combat this.

But a dialogue is needed in any case. We must attentively weigh each forthcoming decision, hear various opinions, and anticipate possible consequences. This was precisely what there was not enough of at the Shalchininskiy Rayon Soviet session which took place recently which proclaimed a Polish national territorial rayon within the Lithuanian SSR. Quite a few residents of the region do not support this decision. Finally, even the deputies themselves have difficulty imagining how this will be implemented in practice. Rayon party and government leaders talk a lot about territorial self-management; however, they themselves hardly use all opportunities to improve the economic and social situation. It was emphasized during the discussion that any division of republic territory according to the national principle is illegal. We receive many letters in which people categorically come out against the establishment of national-territorial formations.

Socio-economic problems and problems of cultural and spiritual life of Polish society in this or other rayons of Vilnyuskiy Kray cannot be solved by establishing such territorial formations. This, as noted during the meeting, contradicts the constitution of the republic, increases tension, and sows discord among the population. Categorical demands which violate the republic's territorial integrity can result in negative consequences in the future and worsen the situation of all nationalities who reside here.

Of course, each people, each region, workers collective, and even individual groups of people have their specific interests. In any case, these interests need to be kept in mind during the search for a common denominator. However, it was pointed out during the meeting that this must be done only in a democratic and constitutional manner without at the same time prejudicing the interests of any one people living in the republic. A law on nationalities living in Lithuania is being prepared at the

present time. It must stipulate norms which protect the rights of each people in all spheres of life.

But it is impossible to solve the problems which have accumulated over the decades with one stroke. The meeting's participants said that we certainly need a special committee of nationalities under the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers. It would coordinate the work of state agencies and the efforts of public organizations in solving the issues of economic, social, and cultural life. The discussion was about a mechanism which would guarantee a proportional number of seats in elective bodies to all peoples and also the opportunity to participate in the adoption of all laws which affect their interests. In some instances, this can already be done now while conducting elections for party committees and local Soviets and while appointing workers to their executive bodies.

The meeting's participants agreed that the only possible and optimal path to solve problems is the parliamentary one. It is therefore necessary to consolidate peoples of all nationalities, unite the efforts of party and government bodies, public organizations, and social movements, also including the Union of Lithuanian Poles, to deepen and accelerate the processes of perestroika.

### **Lithuanian SSR Draft Law on Nationalities**

*18001649 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 19 Aug 89 p 1*

["Draft Law of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic on Nationalities Residing in the Lithuanian SSR"]

[Text] The historical path pursued by the people of various nationalities of the Lithuanian state is tightly intertwined with the destinies of the Lithuanian people, and this determines the commonality of their goals. The republic guarantees all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR the political, economic, and social rights and freedoms fixed by the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, recognizes national uniqueness, encourages the manifestation of national self-awareness and its self-expression. Proceeding therefrom, the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR adopts the present Law.

**Article 1.** The Lithuanian SSR, being a sovereign democratic government and being ruled by the principles of humanism and equality of nations fixed in international documents, guarantees the free development of all national as well as ethnic groups residing on its territory.

Residents of the Republic of all nationalities shall direct their efforts to achieving common goals that reflect the nation's interests as well: the creation and fortification of the independent democratic Lithuanian state.

Residents of Lithuania of all nationalities shall observe the statutes of the Constitution of the Republic as well as its other laws and respect the culture, customs, and traditions of the region.

**Article 2.** The Lithuanian state, recognizing the interests of the national groups on the basis of legislation and the established order guarantees:

- the right to unite in national cultural organizations;
- the right to aid from the state in developing national culture and popular education;
- the right to study in one's native language. Conditions are being created for the operation of children's pre-schools, general education schools, holding classes, and training nursery and elementary school teachers for them;
- the right to a press and information in one's native language;
- the right to establish cultural links with compatriots beyond the borders of the Republic. In their relations with foreign states, national cultural organizations base themselves on international agreements of the Lithuanian SSR;
- the right to representation in the organs of state power at all levels on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage.

**Article 3.** National cultural organizations have the right to create educational institutions, institutions of culture and art, and museums with their own means.

**Article 4.** National historical and cultural monuments of value to Lithuania shall be safeguarded by the state.

**Article 5.** Each citizen of the Lithuanian SSR shall be free to select his nationality.

It is forbidden to compel rejection or alteration of nationality.

**Article 6.** National cultural organizations shall be established after the publication and registration of their program and by-laws.

The activity of national cultural organizations shall be curtailed by the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR in the following instances:

- if it contradicts the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR;
- if it poses a threat to the integrity and sovereignty of the Lithuanian SSR;
- if it contracts their published and registered program and by-laws and is also directed against national accord.

**Article 7.** The present Law shall go into force on the day of its publication. The Law shall be implemented by all state organs of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR shall determine the actual implementation of the Law.

### **Ties Reported Between Lithuanian, Belorussian People's Fronts**

*18001674D Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian and Belorussian 27 Aug 89 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Food for Thought"]

[Text] Yesterday's issue of our newspaper reprinted an article from PRAVDA entitled "But What About Tomorrow?", dealing with the events in Lithuania and the role played by Sayudis in those events. The article ends with a rhetorical question: "Where is the Baltic headed? What will tomorrow bring to the Baltic and to our Union?"

We believe that our readers would be interested in the following news item reported on 24 August by the Belorussian service of Radio Liberty. Here is the report as broadcast, word for word: "Report from Minsk. Our Minsk correspondent Ales Shnar has provided us with the text of the following statement. 'The Belorussian People's Front has repaid in full the loan amount advanced by Lithuanian Sayudis for holding the constituent congress in Vilnyus on 24-25 June. This has been confirmed by a letter sent from Vilnyus to the board of the Belorussian People's Front, which states, in particular, the following: "This is to inform you that the money spent by the Sayudis Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka to help hold the constituent congress of the Adradzhenne Belorussian People's Front has been repaid in full. We have received 2,500 rubles. Signed: Chataytsis, secretary; Urbas, treasurer." "'

This material provides answers to at least two questions. First: just why was it that the Belorussian People's Front congress was held in Vilnyus? Second: what ties exist between the Belorussian People's Front and Sayudis?

Without probing their relations at length, one can see the ideological and political-platform kinship between the Belorussian People's Front and Sayudis, as well as the identical nature of their methods of action. This enables us to pose the following question to our readers: to what are the leaders of the Belorussian People's Front leading the situation in Belorussia? Do they not want the socio-political situation in this republic to become tomorrow that which we see in Lithuania today?

### **Pre-Election Demonstration, National Extremism Discussed**

*18001626 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 30 Aug 89 p 3*

[Article by BELTA correspondent A. Kryzhanovskiy: "Morality and the Law: Splinters Drifting in the Current"]

[Excerpts] *Aleksandr Pushkin. No, not that one. A student at the Belorussian State Theater-Art Institute, a former internationalist soldier, a young artist. In March of this year, on the eve of the elections, he staged an anti-Soviet demonstration outside the Press House in Minsk. He was*

*detained by the police, along with a group of the most active participants. But the great schemer refused to obey the Criminal Code, and so naturally wound up in the defendant's dock.*

Let us reconstruct the course of events.

Aleksandr decided to mark the anniversary of the formation of the so-called Belorussian People's Republic. After making several posters that, in his opinion, can be considered a new trend in Belorussian painting, he asked the institute administration for permission to exhibit them. He was refused such permission, for the posters showed such things as the Belorussian state flag with an X drawn through it, the names of the union republics inside the barred windows of the Kremlin, and so on. Despite an official warning from the Procuracy that his actions were illegal, Aleksandr took to the streets.

In a conversation with this correspondent in his preliminary detention cell, Pushkin developed a theme he discussed in Vilnius: "The newspapers aren't writing the truth. I am not against Jews and communists, I am for a Belorussia without kikes and communists." Subsequently, including at his trial, he sought to explain at some length that he was referring to bad Jews and bad communists. In response to the question, "Who gave you the right to desecrate the republic state flag?" he answered, "My art."

Several participants in the demonstration were held accountable. Charges were filed against A. Pushkin and A. Zelenkovskiy, who resisted a police officer, and the others who were arrested were punished on an administrative basis.

A. Pushkin had already been held accountable on an administrative basis last year, for urging people to participate in an unauthorized rally. On that occasion the court gave him the administrative punishment of five days in jail. But in response to a petition from students and the institute administration in which they condemned Pushkin's action and asked that he be released to them on bail, his punishment was commuted.

After the elections, several students of the Theater-Art Institute staged a hunger strike to protest the police's "illegal" actions. The hunger strike did not last long, though it did attract much publicity. (See the photostory entitled "Passions Over Pushkin" in SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA for March 27, 1989—The Editors). The "passions over Pushkin" did not subside for some time. And just recently, after the trial was over, I realized that it was necessary to address the matter once again: At a trolleybus stop, I overheard someone say this: "It's being said that they released that fascist Pushkin." Then the editorial offices began receiving calls: "Why is that criminal at large?"

I must say that Pushkin's conduct drew diametrically opposed assessments from the very outset. Of the great many letters received during those spring days, I am



going to quote from three letters that, in my view, give the fullest idea of how readers viewed the incident.

"How quick you were to pounce on A. Pushkin. And all just because the man demanded something Belorussian for Belorussians. If the BPR committed crimes under the white, red and white flag, what was done under the red flag during the years of the repressions?" wrote V. Koshchov of Brest.

A letter from G. Vasilenko of Minsk, a CPSU member and labor veteran, contained the following conclusion: "Pushkin, in the eyes of the institute's students and unfortunately, perhaps, in the eyes of other people who are as politically illiterate as he is, can only look like a 'hero who has suffered for the truth.'"

V. Bugayev of Brest, a CPSU member since 1941, addressed his questions to Aleksandr directly: "What have you done for Soviet Belorussia? Every fourth person in Belorussia died for the Soviet people's freedom. All the nationalities fought. And you are defiling everything, desecrating all that is sacred. Is there anything from which you would shrink?"

Let me venture to share my own impressions. In my opinion, Aleksandr is laying claim to the laurels of "tribune" and "crusader" for a just cause.

He was charged under two articles: 186-3, organizing or actively participating in group actions disrupting public order, and 196-1, taking the law into one's own hands. But Aleksandr demanded something else—a political trial. "I am a victim," he said on several occasions. "I detest the socialist system. I have long had a score to settle with Soviet rule, for it caused suffering to my relatives." Yes, Aleksandr is a victim, but a victim first and foremost of his own illusions.

I remember when, after the final frames of the film, "The Cool Summer of '53," I came out of the theater with the sudden feeling that we were all repressed, albeit not physically but spiritually, that Stalinism took something away from all of us, took something away from our fathers, mothers and maybe even from our children: The process of spiritual rehabilitation is far from complete.

My mother's father, who fought in the Civil War and was decorated with an order, was taken away just before the war, and his fate is still unknown. My mother's tears serve as my eternal memory of the lot of children of "enemies of the people," and as my hatred of Stalinism. Aleksandr's father was convicted in 1949 of collaboration with the occupying forces. I do not want to write these next lines, but today Aleksandr and I—we share the same name and are almost the same age—risk winding up "on opposite sides of the barricade." I am a communist and believe in the government of soviets. Aleksandr turned in his Communist Youth League card and declared in court: "My father detests Soviet rule, and my grandfather and I also detest Soviet rule." In Aleksandr's view, I am a bad communist, and there is no place for me in Belorussia. Institute rector V. Sharangovich said that,

following publication of the article "Passions Over Pushkin," he began receiving anonymous telephones and letters threatening physical violence against the article's "hero." It is a paradox: The author of the article was paid in the same coin. [passage omitted]

[Aleksandr] even declared in court: "I have made my choice: It is to be an implacable foe of Soviet rule." And, I am confident, he is well aware of the fact that no one takes him seriously. Besides, what kind of ideological crusader doesn't even want to familiarize himself with the opponent's weapon? "Generally speaking, I do not read newspapers, and I am not familiar with Gorbachev's program of perestroika." Nevertheless, the changes taking place in society have come within his field of vision: "In a general sense, I have experienced perestroika firsthand," he once admitted. "Before I would have been expelled from the institute for my actions long ago, but nowadays they put up with me." Perhaps this accounts for his arrogance: "From the very start, this trial was transformed from a criminal trial into a political trial. Why haven't I been convicted as a political offender?" You'll excuse my sharp words, Aleksandr, but honestly, you're a bit too shallow for a politician, though you make an excellent provocateur.

The great integrator said that people who don't read newspapers should be shot on site, psychologically speaking. Pushkin doesn't read newspapers either, and hence the disappointment that came over him: Today, people aren't prosecuted for their convictions.

What, then, did Pushkin achieve? He got a two-year suspended sentence, gave his institute a bad name, "rewarded" with fines those who staged the unauthorized demonstration with him—after he had made the noble gesture of warning them of the possible consequences, and, through his speech, provoked law-enforcement agencies into taking counteractions. A fitting result. And yet it was exacting what he was trying to achieve. "I wanted to feel the authorities' reaction to my speech firsthand." Are you satisfied, Aleksandr? Meanwhile, Aleksandr Zelenkovskiy could have ended up behind bars. "A. Zelenkovskiy refused to obey orders, and unarmed combat techniques were used against him. While trying to break loose, Zelenkovskiy caused bodily injuries to two police officers." Perhaps you believe that, through that disgraceful escapade, you promoted the development of democracy? You are mistaken: You only dealt yet another trump card to those who, with your help, will try to hold it back.

I anticipate a question: Given his insistence, why wasn't A. Pushkin convicted under some sort of "political" article? He could have been called to account had his posters contained calls for overthrowing the social system or for changing it by a means at variance with the USSR Constitution, or for obstructing the enforcement of Soviet laws for the purpose of undermining the USSR's political and economic systems." N. Nichiporenko, a junior legal adviser and senior investigator for the Minsk City Procuracy, refused to institute

criminal proceedings on the grounds that "though some of the posters Pushkin made contained a call for changing the existing national and state structure, the posters' content do not allow one to conclude that such changes were to have been effected by a means at variance with the USSR Constitution, or that they called for obstructing the enforcement of Soviet laws for purposes of undermining the USSR's political and economic systems. The poster on which the Belorussian state flag was crossed out, since it was a representation, cannot be deemed a desecration of the BSSR state flag. Pushkin displayed no posters promoting national unrest or hostility."

No one disputes the letter of the law. But imagine a situation in which, tomorrow, some other Pushkin turns up and calls for a Belorussia not without "kikes" but a Belorussia without "Russian butchers," "Yukkies," and the labusy [not further identified], or that, in the Ukraine, such a "crusader" for the ideals of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists demands the expulsion of all bulbashi [not further identified], and of all "bad" representatives of other nationalities along with them? (I wonder what criteria they would use to determine who is good and who is bad?) The preconditions for such a situation are already in place—one need only look at the state of affairs in the Baltic republics. What is this nationalist extremism and arrogant chauvinism rooted in? Who is inflaming passions, and why? Whom does this benefit?

Not very long ago, some meetings were held in Minsk with the editorial collegium of the magazine NASH SOVREMENNIK. They were even broadcast on republic television. I was struck by the carefree irresponsibility with which one of the magazine's associates responded to the question, is there a Zionist conspiracy in the USSR? "How can I put it," the venerable colleague said ingratiatingly, "it's like a Brownian movement: Nobody can see it, but everyone knows it's there." I can just imagine what an intoxicating balm those words were for our homebred anti-Semites.

Did not Pushkin's actions provide grist for their mill? Or does the swastika not turn up on fences in Belorussia, or are we going to go on pretending that there are no groups of youths in our republic who have been infected with the virus of national-socialism? I myself saw in the Minsk's Troitskoye suburb some young toughs wearing jackets and coats with Iron Crosses hanging from the reverse side of the lapels. Nor have we forgotten the mass brawl in Troitskoye that occurred when some Afghan war veterans began beating members of the Talaka association, which seeks to revive national culture, after mistaking them for young fascists marking Hitler's birthday. Or the shameful incident in Gomel when, in one of the city's neighborhoods, a swastika was fashioned out of concrete slabs. Children's pranks?

Let us recall the words of Georgiy Dimitrov, a communist who accepted the Nazis' challenge and triumphed in an open polemic: "We must by no means underestimate

the power of the ideological contagion of fascism, for fascism not only fans ingrained prejudices among the masses, but also plays on the best impulses of the masses, on their sense of justice, and even at times on their revolutionary traditions."

When somebody starts talking about a Zionist conspiracy, about the tyranny of communism, or about the crimes perpetrated by other "isms," they are manifesting none other than a desire to shift responsibility for what is happening from themselves onto others. To hell with the consequences: Such people will grab a flag and march to a demonstration, shouting, "Long live the Belorussian People's Republic." But is that their rightful place in perestroyka?

On the lips of such demonstrators, the notion itself of perestroyka can become a dangerous word, for their understanding of it is distorted, amounting to something like "Turn things upside down!" But four years have passed and no improvements are in sight. And if nothing changes for the better within four more years, there will be no one to blame. We will all be responsible for the lack of results. But to act the way Pushkin, through his example, proposes we do would mean to go back to the Black Hundreds, to anarchy.

Some of our young people today are at a crossroads—under what banner to stand? And for many, this question is not important. They are simply against, against everything. Who will they follow tomorrow?

The situation among young people is complex and contradictory. Waves of student rallies and protests have swept through the institutions of higher learning of Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi, Kiev. Students move with extraordinary ease from apathy to undirected movements; they sometimes do so unthinkingly, and rashly embrace nationalist and extremist slogans. At the same time, there are quite a few people who would like to use young people to their ends, and their attempts are often successful. Meanwhile, we don't even give any thought to—don't even imagine—the great danger of the possible consequences, or what a destructive force young people could be turned into in the hands of those who profit from the destabilization of society. Witness Alma-Ata, Sumgait, Fergana.

Extremism of any stripe poses the greatest danger to perestroyka. Take, for example, Estonia, where thousands of people are being made into outcasts, have been deprived of their right to vote, and are being driven from the places where they live. Among the "hotspots" where the sores of nationality problems have been uncovered, Belorussia is still distinguished by prudent views, reason, and popular wisdom. It will be bad should the reverse occur.

One can only welcome the revival of national self-awareness. But at the same time, we cannot ignore the symptoms of nationalism, which threaten to develop into a disease. What is happening today in almost every republic is the price we are paying for the mistakes that

were made in implementing nationalities policy and for the neglect of the nationality factor. For a long time, we pretended that everything was fine here, that there weren't any problems. But the problems—and very acute ones—have now bared their fangs to us. The resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference "On Internationality Relations" states in part: "Life demonstrates convincingly: Where the practice of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism is rendered lifeless, national narrow-mindedness and chauvinistic arrogance become active... Any actions that alienate nations and peoples and attempts to infringe on the rights of citizens of any nationality must be viewed as morally inadmissible and contrary to the interests of the Soviet state."

In my opinion, the things we are seeing today in various parts of our motherland can be regarded as the neglect and rejection of these fundamental precepts, in which, under the cover of loud pronouncements about defending and supporting perestroika, people essentially begin raining blows on it. I don't care if I am a bad communist in Pushkin's eyes, I cannot and I refuse to abandon the principles of Soviet patriotism and internationalism. Of course, we have to improve our laws and our Constitution in the spirit of democratization, not anarchy. But the overzealous "crusaders" for democracy must be allowed to throw the baby out with the bath water, they must not be allowed to threaten the very existence of our union.

It's too late to undertake efforts to prevent the symptoms of nationalism. They have developed into a disease, and the disease must be cured. Let us recall once more the resolution "On Internationality Relations," where it states that any nationality problems must be solved in a calm and extremely responsible fashion..., above all through steps to accommodate one another's concerns..., and without prejudice to the national cohesion of the Soviet people. Efforts must be made to create a public atmosphere in which a person of any nationality feels at home in any part of our socialist motherland."

And the disease must not be treated by the police: The fellows with crimson capbands are an extreme, undesirable, and ineffective means that does not cure the disease but drives it inside. It must be combated by political means. Practical steps must be taken to address one another's concerns, for I personally would be very reluctant to remain on one side of the barricade, even if in the majority. Will Aleksandr agree with me? We are children of the same country, and we must tear down the barricades of distrust and misunderstanding between us. For confrontation is no solution.

Neither of us need the kind of socialism that existed under Brezhnev or Stalin, but are communists the only ones to blame for this? The blame rests with everyone who lived in the era of stagnation with the servile resignation of blind men. But who has a right to blame them? The process of recovering our sight is a painful and agonizing one, and the path that Pushkin advocates can only be seen as delirium.

I want least of all for these notes to be seen as moralizing to Aleksandr on my part. I do not consider that I have a right to do that. But Aleksandr is not the only thing at issue here. A person can hate the society that raised him, and "struggle" against it. But one cannot be blind: Much is in the past; the shoots of the new society have already broken through, and they must be nurtured. To deliberately provoke disturbances and to resort to confrontation means to throw the herbicides of anarchy onto what has been sown.

Perestroika has only breached the dam of the muddy swamp of stagnation. The clean waters have yet to carry away all the many years of filth. Who among us will be quick to get on his feet, set sail, and catch the wind, and who will drift along clinging to the fragment of a shipwreck, not knowing where he is going? Find the answer in yourself; as for me, I don't want to be a splinter drifting in the current.

### Ukrainian CP CC Addresses Nationalities Issue

90UN0042A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
8 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by L. Kravchuk, chief of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Ideology Department: "If Everyone Has Been Heard"]

[Text] Recently, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee met with representatives of ethnic culture societies of nationalities living in the Ukraine and heads of several ministries and agencies. At the meeting, the status of small nationalities and ethnic groups living in the republic was discussed, as well as problems they face and ways to solve them.

I want to mention that the UkSSR has representatives of over 100 nationalities. According to the 1979 census, the absolute majority are Ukrainians, of whom we have over 36 million residents, and Russians, of whom we have over 10 million. Representatives of other nationalities comprise almost 3 million. The following are the most numerous ethnic groups: Jews, Belorussians, Moldavians, Poles, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Greeks, Crimean Tatars, Germans and Gagauz.

The history of our ethnic groups is extremely complex. Representatives of some nationalities have lived on the Ukrainian soil for several centuries, and it has become their native land.

But was this diversity of the republic's ethnic map always taken into account in the sociopolitical and cultural life of the republic? We must be self-critical and admit that the answer is no.

It is difficult to clear up the neglected areas of the past, where problems have accumulated over many years. We must reassess very thoroughly the past and the present, for renewal is impossible without a profound, active understanding of the sources. This approach shows

clearly how the problems of ethnic minorities in the Ukraine gradually slipped from the view of party and soviet entities.

And yet, until the early 1930s much was being done to promote the development of cultures of ethnic minorities in the republic. Great work was actively carried out in the UkSSR to make sure that the socioeconomic, political and ideological needs of non-indigenous ethnic groups were met.

Starting in 1922, the apparatus of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee had a political department of ethnic minorities, and similar departments existed in local party committees. Starting in April 1924, the central commission on ethnic minorities' affairs of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and its local representatives assumed the responsibility for the issue. In areas where ethnic groups were a majority, administrative centers were set up. In 1929, for instance, 24 ethnic rayon soviets, 106 ethnic town soviets and 1,087 ethnic village soviets existed in the Ukraine. In the 1929-30 academic year, the republic had some 2,000 schools where education was conducted in German, Yiddish, Moldavian, Polish, Bulgarian, Tatar and other languages. More than 500 newspapers were published in such languages.

However, the distortion of socialism left its mark on nearly all of the nationalities in the Ukraine. Ethnic schools, theaters and libraries were closed and ethnic administrative centers were abolished. Mass deportations of nationalities from their areas of habitation were a tragedy for many. The national historical memory was obliterated. Villages and small towns whose names dated back many centuries were renamed into faceless Primorskoie or Pervomayskoie.

It is hard today to melt the ice of distrust among ethnic groups and to rectify injustices they suffered. It is also hard to break the stereotypes in the minds of many party and soviet officials and to persuade them to be attentive to the needs of small ethnic groups. But any other position would lead to paradoxical situations which breed nothing but distrust for party and soviet organizations. For instance, how to explain the fact that in Lvov Oblast two schools offer Polish language education to the oblast's 32,000 Poles, whereas the 80,000-plus Poles in Zhitomir Oblast have no such schools? In this respect, we all face a difficult task: to correct in the most expeditious manner past mistakes and distortions in the leninist nationality policy.

In the past few years we have done certain things, primarily in the area of development and use of languages. In many regions of the USSR, political processes have degenerated into crises starting with this issue. To prevent such situations from arising, our republic has passed and begun implementing a plan to broaden the use of the Ukrainian language and to assist in developing

further the ethnic-Russian and Russian-ethnic bilingualism. Measures to develop and broaden the use of languages of ethnic groups were part of this plan.

Life itself suggested that we regulate legislatively the state of languages in the republic, of Ukrainian, Russian and the languages of other nationalities living in the republic. Currently, the UkSSR draft Law on Languages, prepared by commissions of the republic's Supreme Soviet, is being actively discussed.

What do people say when they discuss the law on languages? There are many different opinions. I would like to mention some of them. First, we need to grant the status of a state language to Ukrainian. Second, without Russian as the language of interethnic communication, we would bear enormous, unjustifiable spiritual and material losses. Third, we need to ensure free use and development of languages of all nationalities living in the Ukraine.

These popular wishes are reflected in practical deeds. In areas where ethnic groups are a majority, we open or reopen day care centers and schools, in addition to ones which already exist, where the ethnic language is used. At the start of the current academic year, more than 160 schools offering education in Moldavian, Hungarian and Polish opened their doors.

In the past three years, many college departments have opened where young people study Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Modern Greek, Crimean Tatar, Gagauz and Yiddish. For most of them, study aids and programs have been published.

A special emphasis has been placed on training teachers. The Kiev, Lvov, Odessa, Simferopol, Uzhgorod and Chernovtsy Universities and the Izmail pedagogical institute prepare teachers of Bulgarian, Greek, Crimean Tatar, Hungarian and Polish.

Ethnic cultural life in the Ukraine is imbued with a new meaning and substance. Promising cultural and educational programs for different ethnic minorities are being implemented. In areas where ethnic groups are a majority, a campaign to open ethnic studio theaters has been especially broad. Four Jewish, one Tatar, one Hungarian and one Polish theaters have opened.

A strong rise in amateur arts is evident in the republic. Over 2,000 amateur ethnic folk ensembles have been organized; they actively participate in republic-wide folklore festivals.

Libraries have become more active and thorough in advertizing the literature of USSR peoples. In recent years, their stocks have been augmented by books in Polish, Bulgarian, Rumanian and Greek. A library of the friendship of the peoples has opened.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decreed to open a "Druzhba" cultural and education center in Kiev. It has made its presence known by many

interesting undertakings, in particular by organizing festivals of culture and art under the motto "The One-Family Feeling", interethnic friendship parties, folk festivals and exhibitions of works by artists from fraternal republics. A large group of literary and artistic figures, ethnographers, art critics and students of folklore participate in the work of the center. Currently, the issue of awarding the "Druzhba" center the status of a state agency is being considered.

Party and soviet entities are trying to meet the need for information among ethnic groups. In the Ukraine, newspapers are published and television and radio broadcasts are conducted in Bulgarian, Hungarian, Moldavian, Crimean Tatar and Greek.

Currently, every ethnic group in the republic is justifiably raising the issue of publishing its own republic-wide newspaper. How feasible is it currently? Now, unfortunately, we probably can not satisfy this demand. The reason is an old one, the shortage of paper.

We are currently reviewing the structure of the republic's press. In 1990 we expect to begin publishing the organ of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, with special weekly editions

devoted to problems of justice, nationality policy, culture, etc. In addition, the publication will contain ethnic language pages, which the editors are preparing jointly with ethnic culture societies. We plan also to start publishing Bulgarian, Yiddish, Moldavian, Modern Greek and Polish weekly supplements to a number of oblast newspapers.

The republic pays much attention to publishing ethnic language books. This refers primarily to textbooks, study aids and collections of recommended reading material in Hungarian, Polish and Moldavian. Up to 70 titles a year come out.

The issue of ethnic administration needs a separate mention. There are several villages in the Ukraine where Hungarians, Greeks and Bulgarians are in a majority. Using the experience of the 1920s and 1930s, we are studying several different models of ethnic territorial entities.

National renewal is gaining momentum in the struggle of opinions and in daily actions. Life convinces us that we need thorough, diversified work to satisfy the needs of all ethnic groups to develop their self-awareness and to foster internationalist feelings, instead of slogans and empty promises.

### MVD Chief Bakatin Inspects Leningrad Militia

18001636 Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian 22 Aug 89 p 1

[Interview with V.V. Bakatin by I. Lisochkin: "The Course of the Struggle with Crime"]

[Text] As we already reported, V.V. Bakatin, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs, was in Leningrad for two days. The editors of *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA* asked V.V. Bakatin to answer some questions which are of significant interest to our readers. Our special correspondent I. Lisochkin spoke with the minister.

[Lisochkin] Vladimir Viktorovich, thanks to television and the central press, you are already well known to Leningrad residents as well as to the residents of the entire country. Therefore, permit me to begin with a specific question. We understand that your work is quite intense and you do not have any spare time. But you decided to take a trip to Leningrad. What caused this? What brought you to our city?

[Bakatin] This trip was not dictated by some sort of extreme circumstances. I became Minister of Internal Affairs at the end of October 1988, but the situation turned out such that I have only succeeded in beginning to work systematically and in accordance with a plan since January. And in this plan I included an obligatory trip once a month to one region of the country.

I very much wanted to visit Leningrad, one of the most interesting and important centers of our nation. I will add that the Leningrad Militia and its work is well known. And when it turned out that I had two more or less free days after the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium meeting, I headed for Leningrad. I wanted to observe the operations of City and Oblast Militias, as they say, "in action."

[Lisochkin] Judging by letters to the editor, the rise in crime, in particular the increase in the number of heinous crimes, is increasingly alarming to the residents of Leningrad. Public opinion in our city is inclined toward the fact that we must employ the most stringent measures against murderers, rapists, robbers, thieves, and drunkards. Leningrad society links high hopes with the formation of Temporary Committees on the Struggle with Crime in the city and in the Oblast. Just how effective can these agencies be in your opinion?

[Bakatin] Let us discuss it. The level of crime in Leningrad is significantly higher than in the nation and in the RSFSR and two times higher than in Moscow. But let us not rush to conclusions. The fact is that Leningrad residents began working on the accuracy and objectivity of these crime statistics and on increasing the sharpness of the reaction to each announcement of violations of the law earlier than others. Plainly speaking, I am a firm supporter of this work. The bitter truth is better than a sweet lie.

At the same time, the rise in crime in Leningrad is worse than in other regions of the nation. The number of premeditated murders has even been reduced. We must objectively assess all of this.

There is undoubtedly alarm. But we are obliged to see how it arose. Since January, a stream of earlier closed information has burst upon the reader. A sociological study was conducted in Moscow and it was learned that 70 percent of Muscovites do not judge the danger of crime through personal experience but only through articles in the press and through television programs.

I think that from now on we must inform all society about everything associated with crime. But we must do this with common sense and with accurate analysis. We do not need to frighten people.

I will answer your question about temporary committees. These are not emergency agencies. They function only within the limits of the law and the problem of establishing a legal state, as you understand, is not removed.

The committees are established on the basis of the well known USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Decisive Strengthening of the Struggle with Crime" which has enormous political significance. Let us move on from this.

Already today many understand that the "Where is the militia looking?" stereotype is untrue, that the militia is only a part of the system which must carry on the struggle with crime. Today, the resolution, within the limits of existing legislation, gives a strong impulse to the whole system of law enforcement agencies in the struggle with crime.

The temporary committees will play their role if they begin operating in a business-like manner, without endless discussions and resolutions, without, excuse this coarse word, talking shop. They need to resolve the most practical and even routine issues.

[Lisochkin] Some of our readers, including lawyers, are disconcerted by the inclusion in the committee of leaders of the court and public prosecutors office who, as we all know, must be absolutely independent and subordinate only to the law. They consider such a situation to be fundamentally incorrect. What would you answer to this?

[Bakatin] I think that we need to understand the essence of the committee's tasks. I repeat, they are not emergency agencies. Their establishment does not change constitutional norms. And some comrades are worried about "legal sterility" for no reason. Representatives of the courts and the office of the public prosecutor on the committee are not superfluous people for they are in the system of law enforcement agencies and must discuss common tasks and exchange information.

I will cite an example. I addressed the USSR Supreme Court with a note in which it was alleged that courts had

begun to ignore provisions of the law which protect life and dignity of militia employees. Does this mean that I am exerting pressure on the court? No. It will make a decision independently, but I considered it obligatory to inform the USSR Supreme Court about the existing situation.

[Lisochkin] We had a meeting in the city and Oblast at which the concept of Temporary Committees was developed and a conversation was conducted on their functions, powers, and so forth. You become a member of a Temporary Committee whose composition is approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Certainly the same conversation about concepts and functions also occurred in Moscow. Say a few words about that.

[Bakatin] There is no need to complicate the issue. The functions of the Temporary Committee are functions of Soviet power which must be strong and vigorous. Its task is to knock down a wave of crime and violations of the law. There are forces for this if you take into account the committee's capability to enlist broad strata of society to solve the task.

[Lisochkin] What new forms of society's forces can be employed in the struggle with crime? How do you relate to the "Gorkovskiy Experience" in particular?

[Bakatin] I relate very well. The residents of Gorkovskiy put forth a useful initiative which originated in the masses of the people and moved from the bottom up. Now the Gorkom has succeeded in practically tripling the foot patrol and post service and this has produced results.

I want to emphasize that in the legal sense the initiative of the Gorkovskiy residents is at the basis of the proposal on volunteer peoples' brigades. Thus there are not and cannot be any sort of "lawlessness" or elements of "mob law."

It seems to me that this experience can also be employed in other regions of the nation, for example, in Western Siberia, on the BAM [Baykal-Amur Trunk Line], but it will be too bad if they begin by blindly copying or "introducing" without observing the principle of voluntary participation.

In the situation of a large city, for example, Leningrad, it seems to me that the experience of the Gorkovskiy residents will be employed less often. Your own initiative and your own start are needed here. And, based on the example of the Gorkovskiy residents, let us think about this.

[Lisochkin] Now all the newspapers are publishing complete information about the level of crime and are maintaining perfect numbers on criminal statistics. There is also the opportunity to analyze crime. And these predictions are not encouraging. In all likelihood, crime will continue to increase for the time being. The only task that can be assigned is to halt the rate of increase using every possible means. Is this true?

[Bakatin] Crime is born of society's living conditions. Today, analysis of the situation in the economy and in the social sphere show that we cannot rid ourselves of criminal factors for now. Therefore, crime is actually preserving a trend toward growth. To state it otherwise would be irresponsible.

But there can be only one conclusion here—we need to counter crime with more powerful forces and conduct a struggle with it in all directions. And if all strata of society participate in accordance with their capabilities, this will be very healthy.

[Lisochkin] What sort of impression has the work of the Leningrad militia made on you during the course of this trip?

[Bakatin] I do not presume to make any sort of final conclusions or arrive at principled assessments based on two days. There will not be any orders or "firings" after this trip. But I am ready to share my general impressions.

In Leningrad, I saw many thinking people, fantastic investigators, true fanatics of their profession, highly qualified specialists—experts and very experienced information center workers. You have good personnel. And the conversations we had gave me very much to devote further thought to and to work on.

But I did not only notice good things. I cannot forget the 11th Militia Department of Frunze Rayon. It is hard to imagine that such a facility could exist in Leningrad. This is really nonsense!

We succeeded in noting that even in the Leningrad Militia, there are people who are biding their time and who suffer from a free-ride mentality and who suppose that someone will do their work for them. This causes alarm.

Thus there is something to work on. The results of the meeting with Boris Veniyaminovich Gidasov inspire me. The conversation at Smolnyy was both detailed and businesslike. If I could briefly summarize it, we talked about the absolute conduct of order in the city and the Oblast. We both resolved that in this sense Leningrad residents can be an example to other cities and regions of the nation. A plan is currently being developed and it will begin to be realized in a professional manner without promoting impractical schemes. And I hope that Leningrad residents, whom I would like to send my best wishes, will sense this.

### **Estonian Draft Law on Local Government**

*90UN0112A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Oct 89 pp 1-2*

["Draft Law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic on the Basic Principles of Local Government"]

[Text]



## Section I. General Provisions

### Article 1. The Concept of Local Government

Local government is the independent resolution of issues pertaining to local life, carried out within the framework of the laws of the Estonian SSR by the inhabitants directly or through appropriate agencies, based on the interests of the inhabitants and the specific features of the development of the administrative territory in question.

### Article 2. The structure of local government

(1) Local government is based on the administrative territorial division of the Estonian SSR.

(2) Local government is carried out on two levels. The primary level consists of volosts (or rural soviets) [henceforth referred to in abbreviated form as "volost"], settlements and cities; the second level—of uyezds (or rayons) [henceforth "uyezd"] and republic cities; moreover, the government agencies of the latter simultaneously perform the functions of primary-level government units.

(3) Primary-level local government provides, in accordance with the laws on the volost and the city, proceeding from the interests of the inhabitants and within the framework of autonomous economic activity, for the resolution of questions of local significance, based on existing financial, economic and organizational possibilities.

(4) Second-level local government provides, in accordance with Estonian SSR laws on the uyezd and the city, and proceeding from the interests of the inhabitants and the state's regional policies, for the balanced development of all spheres of life in the given administrative territory, for the implementation of laws of the Estonian SSR, and for the monitoring of their implementation.

### Article 3. The exercise of local government

In accordance with the laws of the Estonian SSR, inhabitants exercise local government:

1. Directly through popular voting (referendum) or public discussion, as well as by way of civic initiative through various associations, or individually.
2. Through government agencies that are formed according to procedures established by the Estonian SSR Law on Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies, by this law, and by laws on the volost, uyezd and city.

### Article 4. The basic principles of local government

Local government is based on the following principles:

1. Self-government, and independent decision making and exercise of administrative authority, proceeding from the interests of the inhabitants of the given administrative unit and the specific features of the development of the administrative territory.

2. Legality and the ensuring of legality.

3. The contractual nature of relations between various government agencies and other juridical and physical persons.

4. Regional cost accounting.

5. The consideration of public opinion and glasnost in work, and the accountability of government agencies to the population.

### Article 5. Associations of local government units.

Local government units have, in accordance with the laws of the Estonian SSR, the right to establish associations, which may realize their interests both within the state and on the international level.

## Section II. Local Government Agencies and Their Jurisdiction

### Article 6. Local government agencies

- (1) Local government agencies are:

—the soviet of people's deputies (soviet) [henceforth referred to in abbreviated form as "soviet"];—the volost, settlement and uyezd elder and the city mayor;—the ispolkom;—the auditing commission.

- (2) The soviet is the representative local government assembly of a given territory consisting of people's deputies (soviet members) [henceforth referred to as soviet members], who are elected by the administrative territory's inhabitants in accordance with the Law on Elections for a five-year term.

- (3) The Soviet elects a chairman and deputy chairman of the soviet from among its members by secret ballot.

- (4) The soviet, when necessary, forms commissions, elects commission chairmen from among its members, and approves the membership of commissions, whose members may be both members of the soviet and other citizens.

- (5) Under a soviet, as a consultative body, an assembly of village elders and elders of city regions may be formed at the primary level, and an assembly of volost and settlement elders and city mayors may be formed at the secondary level.

- (6) Volost and settlement elders and city mayors are elected by the appropriate soviets by secret ballot; uyezd elders and mayors of republic cities are appointed by appropriate soviets on the basis of a proposal by soviet members, or—at the primary level—a proposal by the assembly of village elders and elders of city regions, or—at the secondary level—a proposal by the assembly of volost and settlement elders and city mayors.

**Version I**

(7) The chairman of a volost, settlement or city soviet is simultaneously the volost or settlement elder or city mayor.

**Version II**

Volost and settlement elders and city mayors are elected by the appropriate soviets by secret ballot, and they may not be chairmen of the soviet in question.

Uyezd elders and the mayors of republic cities are elected by the appropriate soviets by secret ballot.

**Version I**

...from among the soviet members, and they may not be chairmen of the soviet.

**Version II**

...and they may not be soviet members.

(8) Volost, settlement and uyezd elders and city mayors must have a command of the state language and other languages in accordance with the requirements of the Estonian SSR Law on Language.

(9) The ispolkom is a collegial executive agency confirmed by the soviet on the recommendation of the elder or mayor for the term of its office; its membership includes the volost, settlement or uyezd elder or city mayor, his assistants, and members of the ispolkom (soviet personnel). The members of an ispolkom, with the exception of its chairmen, may not be members of the corresponding soviet.

(10) The soviet elects an auditing commission by secret ballot; the chairman and deputy chairman of the commission must be members of the soviet.

(11) The auditing commission, on instructions from the soviet, exercises oversight over the activities of the ispolkom and the correctness of reporting, and also informs the soviet and the public of this.

(12) The soviet has the rights of a juridical person. Other local government agencies have the rights of juridical persons if so stipulated by legislation of the Estonian SSR.

(13) Staff officials of local government agencies may not hold initial- capitalization stocks in existing joint-stock enterprises or serve on their boards, and other restrictions stipulated by laws of the Estonian SSR may also apply to them.

(14) The jurisdiction and procedures for organizing the activities of local government agencies are established by this law, the laws on the volost, uyezd and city, and other laws of the Estonian SSR; by acts of the Estonian SSR government stemming from them; and by decisions of the appropriate soviets and regulations governing primary-level administrative units.

**Article 7. The jurisdiction of local government agencies.**

(1) Within the limits of their jurisdiction, local government agencies are independent. By mutual agreement they may delegate the right to decide questions belonging to their jurisdiction, together with the resources necessary to deal with them, to agencies at other levels of the administrative system. In the event of a dispute, a question is decided by a conciliation commission of the sides, or by the government of the Estonian SSR. The decision of the latter may, in the course of a month, be protested in the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, whose decision is final.

(2) The jurisdiction of local government agencies includes: on the basis and within the limits established by laws of the Estonian SSR, the performance on their respective administrative territories of the following functions:

1. Administering their administrative territories.
2. Developing and implementing regional cultural and demographic policies, and preserving the people's traditions and customs.
3. Organizing general education; providing primary medical care and social security, and consumer, trade and other services to the population.
4. Creating conditions for providing inhabitants with housing.
5. Ensuring the employment of the local population, and, together with the state migration service, resolving the questions of migration.
6. Organizing the use of local resources and the local infrastructure.
7. Ensuring observance of the requirements of environmental protection and the provision of public services and utilities.
8. Providing inhabitants with assistance in the event of natural disasters.
9. Ensuring public order.

(3) Laws of the Estonian SSR may assign local government agencies the accomplishment of tasks in certain spheres of state administration. Assigning local government agencies additional tasks not specified by laws is done only on the basis of an agreement concluded between the specific state agency and the soviet or ispolkom of the government unit involved.

**Article 8. Exclusive jurisdiction of the primary-level local government soviet**

A volost, settlement or city soviet decides the following questions, which belong to its exclusive jurisdiction:

1. In accordance with the Law on the Budget, confirms the independent budget of the local government unit, as

well as reports on the utilization of additional nonbudgetary income sources. The draft budget, budget and report on its utilization are published for general information.

2. In accordance with the procedures established by Estonian SSR laws, sets local taxes, obligations and deductions, and resolves questions pertaining to the issuing and withdrawal of loans.

4. Establishes the legal regulations governing property that is under its municipal ownership, monitors the disposition of that property, and resolves questions pertaining to a possible change in that form of ownership and its combination on a cooperative basis with other forms of ownership.

5. Determines the basic guidelines for the development of the corresponding administrative unit, and confirms independent development plans.

6. Issues authorization and concludes contracts for the initiation of economic and construction activities on its administrative territory, in accordance with procedures established by Estonian SSR laws.

7. Checks on the fulfillment of contracts concluded with the soviet by all enterprises, institutions and organizations located on its administrative territory, and monitors their activities related to the fulfillment of normative acts on environmental protection, their utilization of land and natural resources, and their observance of sanitation regulations and regulations in the area of public health.

8. Suspends the activities of an enterprise, institution or organization that are damaging the interests of the inhabitants of a given locality in spheres indicated in Point 7, or that violate the terms of a contract concluded with it; when necessary, applies other sanctions provided by Estonian SSR laws.

9. Establishes, on the basis of the inhabitants' interests and sanitation requirements, general procedures for providing services to the population. 10. Resolves questions of granting the use of land and other resources located on its territory, according to procedures and within limits established by Estonian SSR laws.

11. Directs territorial planning activities on its administrative territory, decides questions pertaining to the location of construction projects and the administrative center; presents petitions or issues consent on questions pertaining to the reorganization of the administrative unit and the changing of its boundaries, status and name; and decides questions pertaining to the conclusion of agreements on property relations that arise in these cases.

12. Considers citizens' petitions concerning settlement on its territory, and presents to the appropriate state agency its conclusion concerning the granting of permission for residence to newly arrived persons in accordance with legislation on migration.

13. Elects the volost or settlement elder or city mayor, and approves, on the basis of his representation, the membership of the volost, settlement or city ispolkom and the wage fund for its office.

14. Hears the reports of the volost or settlement elder or city mayor and of the volost, settlement or city ispolkom on the implementation of the soviet's decisions.

15. Elects an auditing commission, elects the chairmen of other commissions, and confirms their membership and hears their reports.

16. Approves the statutes on the volost, settlement or city and makes amendments to them.

17. Presents proposals concerning approval of the seal and flag of its government unit and approves other symbols in accordance with legislation of the Estonian SSR.

18. Exercises other powers within limits established by laws on the volost and the city.

#### Article 9. The volost, settlement and city ispolkom

(1) The volost, settlement or city ispolkom is the executive agency of the corresponding primary-level government unit; it operates within the limits of the powers granted it by the soviet and protects the interests of its government unit.

The volost and settlement elder and city mayor are regular staff employees, and other members of the ispolkom may be regular staff employees. By decision of the soviet, they are paid wages from the appropriate local budget. The salaries of the volost and settlement elder and city mayor are set within limits established by the government of the Estonian SSR.

(3) The work of the ispolkom is supported by an office, within which structural subdivisions may be formed to deal with one or several spheres of life. The office's wage fund is approved by the appropriate soviet. The office is headed and its staff positions are filled by the volost, settlement or city secretary, with the consent of the appropriate elder or mayor.

#### Article 10. Volost, settlement and city regions of administrative units

At the initiative of the inhabitants, a volost, settlement or city soviet may form volost, settlement or city regions as self-governing subdivisions of the administrative territory. The soviet may delegate its powers for dealing with certain matters to the board or elder of such a subdivision. The status and powers of the elder or board of a volost, settlement or city region are established by the law on the volost, uyezd and city.

#### Article 11. The soviet of the uyezd and republic city

(1) The jurisdiction of the uyezd soviet and republic city includes the independent organization of those areas of life where the general interests of the inhabitants of a

number of primary-level administrative units and of the city administration interweave at the local level, or the organization of which has been delegated to it on the basis of contracts concluded with primary-level local government agencies.

(2) The soviet may form a board whose membership includes the soviet chairman and deputy chairman, the chairmen of soviet commissions, and representatives of public organizations and movements represented on the soviet.

(3) The soviet chairman represents the soviet, directs the organization of its work, and directs the office that serves the soviet; the size of the office's staff and its wage fund are approved by the soviet.

(4) The soviet appoints the uyezd elder or city mayor, sets his salary within limits established by the Estonian SSR government, and, based on the representation of the uyezd elder or city mayor, approves the staffing of the uyezd or city ispolkom and its wage fund.

(5) The soviet expresses its consent, according to procedures stipulated by Estonian SSR laws, on the candidates for chief of the rescue service, the director of the regional state control service, the director of the regional tax service, the chief of state security, the military commissar, and other officials appointed by republic bodies to the uyezd or republic city.

(6) The soviet exercises other powers in accordance with the laws on the uyezd and city.

#### **Article 12. The uyezd elder, mayor of a republic city, and ispolkoms of the uyezd and the republic city**

(1) The uyezd elder or city mayor is the executive of the corresponding uyezd or city (for a republic city) ispolkom, and is accountable to the soviet for the execution of its decisions; organizes the implementation of state policies and oversight over the execution of the laws in the given uyezd or republic city; is accountable in this area to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and Estonian SSR government; and may take part in the work of the republic government with the right to speak but not to vote.

(2) The uyezd elder or city mayor is subject to confirmation by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than within a month after his appointment by the appropriate soviet. In the event that his candidacy fails to be confirmed, the soviet appoints a new uyezd elder or city mayor within two weeks after the Supreme Soviet has adopted its decision; in the event that the candidate who is presented fails to be confirmed, the matter is decided by the Supreme Soviet.

(3) The uyezd or city (for a republic city) ispolkom includes the deputy uyezd elders or city mayors and the uyezd or city counsellors, who are confirmed by the soviet for the duration of its term on the basis of a representation by the uyezd elder or city mayor.

(4) The uyezd or city ispolkom has an office that is headed by an uyezd or city secretary confirmed by the republic government, and the structure and wage fund of which are approved by the soviet.

(5) Each uyezd or city counsellor may have his own office staff, the wage fund of which is approved by the soviet.

(6) The uyezd elder, city mayor, and members of the uyezd or city ispolkom, and the employees of its office and of the counsellor's individual office staffs are paid out of the uyezd or city budget within limits established by the Estonian SSR government.

### **Section III. The Financial and Economic Basis of Local Government**

#### **Article 13. The financial and economic basis of local government**

The financial and economic basis of local government is formed by property under municipal ownership, as well as appropriate budgetary and various nonbudgetary moneys.

#### **Article 14. Municipal property**

(1) Municipal property includes property consisting of the local government housing stock, production and transportation enterprises, municipal-service, consumer-service, trade and public-dining enterprises, financial and cultural institutions, health-care and social-security institutions, and public-education institutions established by local government agencies or transferred to them according to procedures established by Estonian SSR laws, together with the fixed and operating capital belonging to them and other real estate and moveable property.

(2) The legal regulations governing property under municipal ownership are determined by local government agencies in accordance with laws of the Estonian SSR and contracts. The agencies of various units of local government may establish mutually agreed-upon legal regulations with respect to property under municipal ownership.

#### **Article 15. The moneys of the local government unit**

(1) Each local government unit has its own independent budget.

(2) The correlation between the state and local budgets, and also among local budgets of various levels is regulated by laws on the budget and taxation.

(3) Funds from the state budget are allocated to the budgets of local government units on the basis of the requirements of the improvement of the economic structure, of regional development and of regional policies, according to procedures established by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 16. The powers of local government agencies in the area of economic activities**

- (1) Local government agencies independently draw up and approve plans for the development of their administrative territories. Local government agencies may, by mutual agreement, draw up and confirm joint plans for the development of several administrative territories, or more narrowly defined special-purpose programs.
- (2) According to procedures established by Estonian SSR laws, local government agencies, on a contractual basis, grant the use of their territories' natural resources, and organize the utilization of natural resources and nature conservation.
- (3) The government agencies of an uyezd or republic city organize, on the basis of the corresponding republic system, an information system necessary for the organization of economic activities on their administrative territories, and also keep records on able-bodied people. In cooperation with republic agencies, they organize the general training of manpower and the retraining of manpower that has been released from work.

**Section IV. The Legal Guarantees of Local Government**

**Article 17. State regulation of the local government system**

- (1) State regulation of local government and the jurisdiction of appropriate state agencies with respect to local government agencies are established by the Estonian SSR Constitution, this law, the laws on the volost, uyezd and city, the Law on the Estonian SSR Government, and other Estonian SSR laws and acts of the Estonian SSR government stemming from them.
- (2) State agencies exercise oversight over the legality of the activities of local government agencies. Appropriate state agencies may draw up instructions of an advisory nature and auxiliary materials on matters related to the activities of local government agencies.
- (3) Either directly or through associations of government units, local government agencies take part in the drafting and discussion of normative acts pertaining to their activities.

**Article 18. The changing of the boundaries or names of administrative units, the formation of new administrative units, and the abolition of administrative units**

- (1) The boundaries and names of administrative units may be changed by the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on the basis of a petition adopted at the initiative of its inhabitants by the soviet of the unit in question.
- (2) In the forming new administrative units and abolishing administrative units, the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet takes into account the opinion of the inhabitants and soviets of the territories in question.

**Article 19. Ensuring the exercise of local government**

- (1) A soviet of authorized representatives has the right, on the basis of its jurisdiction, to make decisions that are binding on all physical and juridical persons within the territory of the corresponding administrative unit, the violation of which may entail liability in accordance with Estonian SSR laws.
- (2) In cases established by the laws on the uyezd and the city, an uyezd or city soviet may adopt binding decrees on matters lying outside its jurisdiction that acquire a generally binding force following their confirmation by a competent state agency. Volost, settlement, city and uyezd ispolkoms and the ispolkoms of republic cities adopt decrees, and volost, settlement and uyezd elders and city mayors adopt orders.
- (3) Based on the interests of the population of an administrative territory, the soviet of the local government unit and its ispolkom (with the soviet's approval) have the right:

1. To suspend the decisions of juridical persons within their administrative territory that are contrary to decisions that have been taken by a local government agency within the limits of its jurisdiction, until a competent state agency has issued a decision.

The local government agency bears material liability for the unlawful suspension of the decision of a juridical person.

2. To revoke approval of the project plans and production and economic feasibility studies for facilities being built on their administrative territory, to revoke decisions to grant land for their construction, or to prohibit construction, if the building client or the land user violates contracts concluded with government agencies.
3. To require or to organize the conduct of additional expert environmental-impact reviews of operating facilities and facilities under construction, and of technologies that are being used.
4. To establish higher environmental-protection requirements for their administrative territory and, in the event that they are violated, to apply administrative sanctions.

- (4) A primary-level local government soviet has the right to protest to a competent republic state agency decisions of the relevant secondary-level local government agency on matters pertaining to its exclusive jurisdiction, the resolution of which by the secondary-level local government agency has not been stipulated by an appropriate contract.

- (5) A secondary-level local government soviet has the right to suspend the decisions of primary-level local government agencies that are contrary to legislation of the Estonian SSR. In the event of a dispute, a final decision on the question is rendered by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

(6) The Estonian SSR government may protest the decisions of an uyezd soviet or soviet of a republic city if they are contrary to legislation of the Estonian SSR, and also, on grounds stipulated by Estonian SSR law, may suspend or revoke the decisions of the ispolkom of an uyezd or republic city, or of an uyezd elder or the mayor of a republic city. In the event of a dispute, a final decision on the question is rendered by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet.

#### **Article 20. Organization of the work of local government agencies**

(1) The operating procedures of local government agencies are established independently by the appropriate soviets on the basis of the principles established by this law or other Estonian SSR laws. The operating procedures of volost, settlement and city government agencies are established by appropriate statutes.

(2) A soviet is convened for its first session by the previous soviet no later than within one month after election day.

(3) A meeting of a soviet is deemed official if more than half of the soviet members take part in it, with the exception of cases in which Estonian SSR laws establish different procedures.

(4) The decisions of a soviet are taken by a simple majority of votes, with the exception of cases specified by Estonian SSR laws, when a question is decided by a two-thirds majority of the votes of soviet members participating in a meeting.

(5) Decisions of a soviet are made by open, secret or roll-call votes. The requirement for holding a roll-call vote takes precedence over the requirement for secret voting, and the requirement for secret voting takes precedence over the requirement for open voting. Estonian SSR laws may establish a range of issues on which only secret votes are taken.

(6) Meetings of a soviet are open. The soviet may also establish cases in which a meeting is declared closed.

(7) A soviet is deemed incapable of operating and is subject to reelection if it fails to achieve a quorum at least three times in two months.

(8) As a rule, the members of a soviet perform their duties without pay. By a decision of the soviet, its members may be compensated out of the local budget for expenses incurred in carrying out certain assignments, or they may be released from their principal employment while preserving their average wages, which are paid out of local budget moneys.

(9) Operating procedures may specify cases in which a soviet member is removed from the decision of a specific question.

(10) The meeting of the ispolkom of a local government unit is convened by its head and is official if more than

half of the ispolkom members take part in the meeting. Decisions of the ispolkom are made by in voting by a simple majority of votes, and in the event of a tie, the vote of the head of the ispolkom is decisive.

(11) The meeting of a commission formed by a soviet is convened by its chairman and is official if more than half of the commission members take part in the meeting. A commission decision is considered to have been made if more than half of the commission members have voted for it in open voting.

#### **Section V. Final Provisions**

##### **Article 21. Regulation of the establishment of local government**

(1) In the initial period of the administrative reform, the procedures for the formation of the regional government system are regulated by the appropriate decrees of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Ukase of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet "On the Establish of a Self-Governing Administrative System," and other normative acts.

(2) When the present law takes effect, the Law on the Settlement and Rural Soviet of People's Deputies of the Estonian SSR, the Law on the Rayon Soviet of Deputies of the Estonian SSR, and the Law on the City and City Rayon Soviet of Deputies of the Estonian SSR lose legal force in areas where they are contrary to the present law.

##### **Article 22. The functions of secondary-level local government when primary-level local government is established**

A secondary-level local government unit performs the functions of the primary-level local government unit according to procedures and to the extent stipulated by the normative acts cited in Article 21, Part I of the present law prior to the legal recognition of the government of the administrative unit in question according to procedures established by the aforementioned normative acts.

#### **Need For Legal Reforms Outlined**

*18001710 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
14 Sep 89 p 2*

[Article by A. Likas, candidate of juridical sciences, senior scientific associate of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, and Lithuanian SSR Meritorious Jurist: "We Discuss Judicial and Legal Reform Issues: The Priority of Culture"]

[Text] The problems associated with establishing the legal culture of socialist justice are conditioned above all by the growth of our society's overall culture and by the tasks of judicial and legal reform under restructuring, which were formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

In this connection, the creative application of Leninist methodological principles establishing the unity of

legality and culture is of special importance. V. I. Lenin write that "apart from the law, there is also the cultural level, which can be made subject to no law," and that "legality and culture are at a minimum unified." To guarantee the observance of these principles, it should have been necessary to set up, under the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics, constitutional courts that would administer oaths to leaders of the state and of law-enforcement agencies, hear reports on the observance of constitutional principles, and suspend unconstitutional laws. The author of this article shares the view of many jurists who take a critical view of the formation of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee in place of constitutional courts, which have long enjoyed historical recognition in many of the world's states.

The effective enhancement of culture in the practice of applying the laws is unthinkable today without the widespread introduction in court proceedings of audio and video recording equipment and computers. Unfortunately, such equipment is making its way into legal proceedings at a very slow pace and on a limited scale (from 1980 to 1988, the use of scientific-technical equipment in the Lithuanian SSR averaged one to two percent).

One of the basic guarantees for enhancing the legal culture of justice is the creation of normal working conditions for judges, which is to say scientifically substantiated work norms. Norms regulating outlays of time spent on various judicial operations should correspond to the actual organizational and technical working conditions of judges, court secretaries, and other personnel. A survey, conducted by the author, of more than 100 judges with many years of experience in judicial work in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, the Bashkir ASSR, and the city of Moscow showed that a judge spends an average of nine minutes to process one page of a court case, and that the average length of a criminal case is nearly 250 pages and a civil case nearly 50 pages. Consequently, based on an eight-hour workday (taking into account rest breaks and so forth), a judge spends nearly five days on one criminal case and one day on a civil case. On this basis, it is possible to rationally regulate an expedient workload for judges and to calculate how many judges are needed.

Observance of the principles of legality and culture in the activity of people's assessors (and there are hundreds of thousands of them in the USSR, more than 10,000 in the Lithuanian SSR) presupposes that assessors be summoned to participate in a trial on the basis of their occupations and the specific nature of the case being heard. For example, when cases involving minors are being heard, the people's assessors should be drawn from among educators and employees of educational institutions, and when cases involving, say, involving traffic accidents are being heard, the assessors should be engineers, technical people, drivers, and so on. Many years of judicial practice have shown that when this approach is taken, the people's assessors take a more active part in

the trial, help to establish the truth in the case, and render a just decision. Nevertheless, judicial agencies continue very often to invite assessors on a rotating basis and without regard for their occupations and specialties. The author of this article is critical of the provision in the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR—a provision preserved from the time of stagnation—that states that people's assessors are to be summoned to discharge their duties in the courts precisely on the basis of a rotating schedule, for two weeks a year.

In the interests of achieving greater culture of legal proceedings, it is proposed that the subject "Basic Principles of the Legal Culture of Socialist Justice" be introduced in the curriculum of legal faculties and institutions of higher learning and in certain nonlegal institutes, as well as in secondary schools, and that institutions of higher education and the courts be better provided with judicial literature through the creation in major cities of publishing boards for legal literature, including textbooks. It is essential that instructors who teach the course "Basic Principles of the Soviet State and Law" in secondary and technical schools have without fail a higher legal education and practical work experience in legal agencies (in the schools of the Lithuanian SSR, for example, the subject is taught primarily by history teachers). In the schools, beginning in eighth grade, it would be advisable to set up young jurist study groups in addition to the other study groups.

It would also make a lot of sense to include in the Criminal Procedure Code a general provision stipulating a solemn oath for judges, witnesses, and other participants in a trial, and to clearly define their relationship to one another and a procedural ritual for all the participants in a trial. It would not hurt matters to advise the courts, through legislation, to make more effective use of the many years of professional service and life experience of able-bodied veterans of justice agencies who are on pension. Is it not a paradox today that law-enforcement agencies, including the courts, are complaining of a shortage of experienced personnel at a time when many retired jurists with unblemished reputations are sitting around idle? And this at a time of emergency in the country and the republic in which almost all types of crime are on the rise! Surely it would be worthwhile, for example, to employ former chairmen and members of union republic Supreme Courts as judicial advisers to Chairmen of Supreme Soviet Presidiums, and to institute the position of legal advisers and consultants to commissions of the Supreme Soviets of USSR and union republic People's Deputies.

Veterans of Soviet justice who in no way compromised themselves in the eyes of the people in the years of Stalinist lawlessness and Brezhnevite stagnation, in my view, should enjoy indisputed preference for nomination as candidates for people's assessors in the USSR and union republic Supreme Courts and for members of scientific-consultative councils to supreme judicial bodies and to commissions and committees of Congresses of People's Deputies. The author of this article

takes a critical view of the content of the legislative principle of electing and relieving judges. All judges should be elected and relieved of their duties not by a superior council but only by the supreme body of power, i.e., the Congress of People's Deputies (thereby ensuring the judges' independence).

It has also become urgently necessary to improve legislation on the mechanism itself of judicial administration, which is to say on the functions of administering judicial bodies, including work with court personnel and the keeping of court statistics. In my view, it would be expedient to transfer all this from the Ministry of Justice to the jurisdiction of higher courts and higher military tribunals, and to provide in the structure of the latter departments charged with fostering and enforcing the unity of legality and legal culture, providing judicial bodies with scientific-technical equipment, and so forth.

We also need to take a fresh look at the competence of the USSR Supreme Court and the union republic Supreme Courts, with a view to broadening it. Under the sovereign union republics' Constitutions, their Supreme Courts are the supreme bodies of justice on their territory and have the right to render final decisions on all court cases in the republics. Their sentences, rulings, and resolutions should not be subject to prosecutor's or oversight appeal to the USSR Supreme Court.

Based on the tasks set by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies regarding legal reform, the USSR Supreme Court should gradually become a USSR Constitutional Court with renewed functions and a renewed structure and judicial mechanism that are in keeping with the conditions of restructuring and with guarantees of the union republics' sovereignty.

Several years ago, the proposals set forth in this article and other proposals were submitted to the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Legislation, where they won approbation and approval. They were taken into consideration in the drafting of normative acts and recommended for introduction in the educational process in the course entitled "Basic Principles of the Culture of Socialist Justice." The institute submitted some of these proposals to the USSR Ministry of Justice for inclusion in the curriculums of the All-Union Institute of Advanced Training for Judicial Personnel. The author submitted a few of the proposals to the 19th All-Union Party Congress. The response he received said that they will be discussed in the course of the upcoming judicial and legal reform and that many of them were already reflected in the new Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR. Many proposals can be used in scientific research, in the practical activities of judicial and investigative agencies, and in the formulation of constitutional principles of justice, textbooks, and measures to enhance the legal culture of both judicial personnel and certain categories of nonjudicial personnel charged with providing organizational and political leadership.

### Ukrainian MVD, Prosecution Organs Warn Nationalists

18001674A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
07 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "At the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office and MVD"]

[Text] It was noted at a coordinating conference of republic law enforcement agencies, held on 4 September 1989, that activists of various unofficial organizations of a reactionary, extremist type, including parasites and persons with prior criminal convictions, recently have sharply stepped up unconstitutional activities in a number of oblasts of the Ukraine, particularly in Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol oblasts and in the capital. These persons, hiding behind slogans of the campaign for perestroika, are grossly violating public order and are flouting the law.

At mass meetings, demonstrations, processions, and religious services unauthorized by the local soviet executive committees, they are waging an anti-Soviet campaign, are fanning the flames of interethnic discord, are extensively utilizing nationalist symbols in their activities, are engaging in direct confrontation with the authorities, frequently insult the honor and dignity of MVD and druzhina [citizen volunteer police auxiliary] personnel engaged in maintaining public order, and attempt to provoke public disorders and to destabilize the situation.

As a rule methods of persuasion employed by internal affairs agencies are ignored by the leaders and instigators of the unauthorized gatherings. They are conducting themselves increasingly more brazenly and aggressively.

All this is evoking legitimate indignation on the part of working people. People are demanding that the local authorities, prosecutor's office and militia put an end to indecision and liberalism. If methods of persuasion fail to work, the militia and the prosecutor's office, to ensure the safety of the public, should use force in order to prevent unlawful acts. And they will employ force within the framework of the law and their delegated authority. This is their duty, and this is their job. And we are counting on support of actions taken by law enforcement agencies by the general public and the entire people of the Soviet Ukraine.

The activities of extremists, nationalists, leaders of the so-called Uniate Church, as well as other persons attempting to destabilize the situation, to incite disorders and resentment by the public, activities which are sharply contrary to the law, compel the Republic Prosecutor's Office and UkSSR MVD to remind them that democracy has never meant immunity to normal rules and regulations and that humanization does not imply immunity to punishment.

In order to implement the basic principles of building a socialist Soviet State governed by the rule of law, local public prosecutor and internal affairs agencies have been



instructed to utilize the full power of the law and their vested authorities, resolutely to quash any attempts by any and all persons to violate laws which are currently in force and thus to ensure the proper public order and conditions for normal work and rest by the people of this republic.

**Azerbaijan MVD Chief on Crime, Corruption, Ethnic Unrest**

*18001583 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY  
in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 3*

[Interview with A.I. Mamedov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of internal affairs by Azerinform correspondent A. Guseynov: "Fighting Crime"]

[Text] On August 4, 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet issued the decree "On the Decisive Intensification of the Struggle Against Crime." This document has met with approval among both the republic's workers and law-enforcement bodies, whose resources have not been fully exploited. An "Azerinform" correspondent has asked A.I. Mamedov, the Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Internal Affairs, to speak about the criminal conditions taking shape in the republic and about the new measures being taken in the letter and spirit of the decree.

[Mamedov] We are pinning great hopes upon the issuance of this decree. The implementation of its provisions will certainly facilitate a systematic, consistent intensification of our efforts in the struggle against crime and enable us to achieve a turning-point within the next one or two years.

But in the meantime, operational conditions in Azerbaijan, as throughout the region as a whole, are difficult. According to the results from the first half of the year, crime has increased by 17 percent. One third of that increase is being handled under the auspices of the department of criminal investigation. The increase in serious crimes, including premeditated murder, bodily injury, robbery, and pillage remains high. Within the spectrum of problems, a highly troubling one is the issue of protecting citizens' property interests. A significant increase in theft has been observed.

An analysis of the situation that has developed allows us to follow a clear line of mercenary-minded, violent crimes. With increasing frequency, firearms are being used, and one can sense the emergence of criminal professionalism. The relative number of crimes committed in groups is increasing. It should be stressed that phenomena which serve as a background to crime, such as drunkenness, drug addiction, prostitution, parasitism, and violence in the domestic sphere, have increasingly made their presence known.

The gravity of all of these problems is evident. However, it must be said that the situation in our republic is somewhat different from that of the rest of the nation. But that of course by no means satisfies us, particularly

since the criminological prognostication for the present situation indicates an entire range of troubling symptoms.

It is worth noting that thanks to the principled course of the republic's CP Central Committee, the so-called "restricted" areas in various rayons and entire branches of the national economy have been removed. To some degree this has allowed us to revitalize the struggle against economic crimes. Misappropriation and bribery are more actively emerging on large and immense scales. A number of stable groups of drug-traffickers has been exposed, and work is being done about racketeers who have made their presence known in Baku.

As you see, we are soberly assessing the situation: we see our own unused reserves and are overcoming the tactical-organizational mistakes which were committed earlier. We are conducting a persistent search for new approaches and changing the style and methods of our operations. We are laying special emphasis upon preventive measures, or forestalling criminal encroachments.

[Guseynov] Tell me, what concrete measures have you begun to take recently towards these goals?

[Mamedov] Not long ago, we restored a preventive service to educate those who have been previously convicted, parasites, and other categories of people who have a tendency to commit crimes. Active measures are being taken to create detachments of workers to assist the police staffed by the best representatives among worker collectives and soldiers internationalists (in a number of places they have already been deployed). People are taken into these detachments at the recommendation of party committees for a period of one year on the salary they received at their previous place of employment. We heavily rely upon their help to maintain public order. And later on those who have received high recommendations and who express a desire to serve in the police force will be put on the staff of internal affairs organs.

We have also created a new service for the struggle against organized crime, to which we direct the most experienced operational personnel.

We are now looking for new ways to improve material and technical security, and these efforts have been supported by the republic's CP Central Committee and the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. District inspectors, the department of criminal investigation, and the investigative staff have strengthened their services.

All of our measures are carried out in close cooperation with organs of the KGB, the procurator's office, and the judicial system, since the scope of crime demands a combined approach and a concentration of the efforts of all parties concerned.

In a word, work is under way, and the August decree will be an added impulse for us. It has met with our personnel's approval. The provisions of this document are

being carefully studied, and what is more, we have asked our workers to come to the ministry with their ideas which originate from practical inferences and their awareness of the real state of affairs. Here we will summarize the suggestions and take them to the republic's leadership, to the USSR MVD, and to the newly created committee for the struggle against crime.

There are many problems, and we will address them on a scientific basis, taking into account social, economic, ethical and other aspects.

[Guseynov] Aydyn Israfilovich, what hinders the measures that are being taken and the course of the projected reforms?

[Mamedov] First and foremost, the aggravation of international relations in the region. This is already the second year in which great police forces and resources are being diverted from their principle duties in the struggle against crime to the preservation of public order. Extremists are continually destabilizing the situation. Let's just take the most recent events. After great forces were needed to restore train service between Baku and Erevan, once again acts of provocation in the Megrinskiy Rayon complicated the situation. The timetable was

disrupted. In the Alyaty-Norashen district 93 cargo trains were at a standstill and several passenger trains were stopped. Only two days later, on August 10, service was restored.

In Zangelan a highly tense situation has reigned for some time. Party organs and the police have carried out a great deal of work with the population, and just when the situation seemed to have improved, a group of armed residents of the neighboring Kafanskiy Rayon in Armenia carried out an attack against one of the villages. The attackers are being detained. An investigation is under way. Literally a surge of indignation and well-founded alarm arose among the residents of the Lachinskiy Rayon as a result of the detonation of a homemade explosive device on the premises of a sovkhoz (state farm) in the name of 26 Baku commissars. On police grounds an entire arsenal of equipment for creating explosives was discovered. Such acts of provocation keep the police in a constant state of alert.

I am certain that with the issuance of the above-mentioned decree measures will be taken to decisively curtail the activities of extremists and other criminal elements.

**Ukrainian Television Denied Access to 'Rukh' Congress**

90UN0030A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
15 Sep 89 p 1

[Commentary by republic television: "Why Was the NDU Congress Not Shown?"]

[Text] The following article was printed under this same headline in the 14 September issue of the weekly publication GOVORYT' I POKAZUYE UKRAYINA

During the days of the constituent congress of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka [NDU] (8-10 September) and now on the occasion of its completion, the republic's television has been receiving calls and letters from its audience: Why has there not been any detailed account of this event on UT [Ukrainian Television]?

To be completely accurate, there has in fact been some television coverage of the NDU congress on installments of "Aktual'na Kamera" and "Vechirniy Visnyk." But, as our television audience correctly remarks, there has not been nearly the expected volume of coverage. On our own behalf we note that the situation does not suit us either. On the very first day of the NDU congress, the correspondents of "Aktual'na Kamera" told the people of the republic why the workers of the republic's television have been put on "starvation rations" of information.

The heart of the problem, in brief, is that television was not allowed to set up in the hall the multicamera equipment of the mobile television station (PTS), which is able to record all the events in their entirety, without cuts, and with high quality (and the three days of the congress would have comprised more than 30 hours of coverage). Like the other mass media, television submitted requests for accreditation of the RT [republic television] workers, with instructions for the use of the PTS, to the organizing committee in a timely fashion. Expecting that this complicated television equipment would require several hours to hook up to power and communication lines and to be tuned, it was decided to do the work the evening before the opening of the congress—on 7 September. Accreditation of the journalists was designated for that same day at 12:00. The PTS also arrived at the location of the Kiev Political Institute at that time. However, the accreditation was postponed until 4 hours later. When the engineering staff of the television center began to set up the mobile television station, representatives of the "public defenders of order" (GOP), who had undertaken to keep order at the NDU congress, rudely stopped the work.

In the course of accreditation the representative of the NDU press center announced that it had been decided not to allow the republic's television to set up PTS cameras in the hall of the congress. Instead, Ukrainian Television was only allowed to use a portable, hand-held

camera for reporting. This equipment, as is known, can only be used to prepare short informational topics.

The journalists of RT did not submit to this decision by the organizers of the NDU congress concerning television coverage of the event. At a press conference on the evening of 7 September, the subject was again broached. As it turned out, common sense prevailed: After the press conference, the representatives of the organizing committee took a vote (!) and decided to allow the republic's television to set up the PTS cameras in the hall.

But on the first day of the congress (the morning of 8 September), when the engineering staff of the television center began to arrange and hook up the PTS, the leadership of the congress' preparations center categorically forbade the work.

On the concluding day of the congress, a quite unprecedented event occurred: A proposal for a "vote of no confidence" was thrust on its participants, which was to embrace even the accredited republic television correspondents Yu. Shkarlat and Z. Kulik because "UT has consistently misinformed the population of the Ukraine" concerning the work of the congress. As it turned out, however, only a handful of the more than 1,000 delegates had actually seen the broadcasts on the air. Thus one may observe an evident bias against the work of the television reporters on the part of individual NDU figures, who say that they are fighting for freedom of the press but who, in fact, wish to establish over it a censorship acceptable to them.

And this is why millions of the republic's viewers, through the fault of the organizers of the NDU congress, were deprived of the opportunity to learn about its work in detail. Standing up, in their numerous speeches at the meetings and in the constituent congress itself, for glasnost, for freedom of speech, and for pluralistic expression of thought, they have, by their discriminatory actions regarding the rights of journalists from television and a number of republic, oblast, and city newspapers, graphically demonstrated their true intentions. Of course we did not and do not conceal our views on a number of the positions and statements belonging to individual members of the NDU, and especially those extremist forces which cling to Rukh. At the same time, the republic's television has repeatedly, in the course of open discussions on live broadcasts, given V. Yavorivskiy, I. Drach, D. Pavlychko, M. Popovich, and other sponsors of NDU the opportunity to state their positions, and it has given coverage to Rukh activities.

In the name of the millions of television viewers who found themselves denied access to expanded television coverage of the NDU congress, the republic's television protests against the discriminatory actions of the organizers of the constituent congress in regard to the mass media. This is not in the style of glasnost and pluralism, and it is not in the spirit of perestroyka.

### Azerinform Criticizes Western Coverage of NKAO, Informal Groups

18300823 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian,  
6 Sep 89 p 3

[Azerinform report: "The 'Eastern' Policy of Western Reporters"]

[Text] Recently, the Azerbaijan SSR has become the object of intense attention of the Western press. Indeed, the internal political life of the republic is eventful; there is much here to report, to ponder over and to think about. Azerbaijan, much like the rest of the country, is going through difficult times, and complex processes are under way in our society. It is not easy to understand these processes. Even we find it difficult, to say nothing of a trans-Atlantic correspondent landing at the Intourist hotel for an hour or two.

Let us take, for instance, our No.1 problem, that of the NKAO (Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast). Need it even be said how careful and circumspect one must be when discussing this national pain? There is no need to repeat that objective information can help the public, including the international public, understand the issue correctly and work out a correct solution to the problem, or at least diffuse passions. What has been done in this respect by the free and independent press in the U.S., for instance? So far, its only accomplishment has been the adoption by the U.S. Senate of the notorious statement on the situation in the NKAO. An active role in feeding disinformation to the American and world public has been played by the Moscow correspondents of THE WASHINGTON POST H.Lee, of THE NEW YORK TIMES W.Keller and of the radio station NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO A.Cooper, who—and this is no secret to anybody—have been acting in close cooperation with the most reactionary wing of Armenian emigre movement. Numerous meetings in August and September 1988 with residents of the republic representing various social groups did not suffice to reveal to the Americans the Azerbaijani point of view on the Karabakh dispute. Nothing has been said of the position of the republic's leadership and their attempts to untangle the tight Karabakh knot.

In general, one gets the impression that the tone of their articles was set in advance: bearded types chasing Azers from the land of their ancestors are Armenian patriots, whereas Azers who do not want to give up the NKAO are fanatical Muslims one and all. But let us not be too demanding. Everything may happen in the journalistic practice. Many Western reporters claim that they want to understand the situation objectively. We are ready to believe them. Thus, the above-mentioned W.Keller reappeared on Baku streets during the memorable days of last August. This time he came accompanied by a NEW YORK TIMES photographer Alexandra Avakyan. In the opinion of those who sent Keller on that trip, Alexandra's presence was probably meant to make him especially objective. Incidentally, the American correspondent came to Baku on the invitation of members of our

own informal groups. We trust that they did so with the best possible intentions: to provide the world with an objective picture of Azerbaijan. But to do this, desire alone is not enough. As a minimum, one has to understand the character of the Western organs of mass information and know the ideological and political convictions of their representatives, as well as great many other things. An objective propagandist with least knowledge of THE NEW YORK TIMES' special modus operandi could have foreseen that all attempts to push through onto its pages objective information about Azerbaijan were doomed to failure. The most one could expect from Keller's articles was the confirmation that the Azeri gangsters did not tear to pieces his companion. Thank God for that.

Attempts by Baku informal activists to direct the attention of the U.S. journalistic pair to their rallies ended when the visitors, having spent a few hours in Baku, Agdam and Shusha, rushed to Stepanakert whence, after communing for three days with "the long-suffering people of Karabakh", they flew to Yerevan! No, we cannot expect certain Western correspondents to be objective when covering events around the NKAO. The Moscow correspondent of the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS Pilar Bonet Cardona, during her stay in Baku in September 1988 did not even try to hide her ties with Dashnak groups in the West. Is it any wonder that articles appearing in EL PAIS not only do not call for reconciliation but fan ethnic hostility?

No sign of sympathy or desire to understand the position of the Azerbaijani side are seen in articles filed by Sophie Shihab, assigned to the Moscow bureau of AGENCE FRANCE PRESS. The French reporter's articles not only distort facts about the republic but have in effect compromised representatives of student organizations whom she interviewed.

To spread this sort of information, there is no need to use so respectable an entity as AGENCE FRANCE PRESS. Organs of the numerous Dashnak organizations in Paris is full of similar writings, as is the publication of the coordinating center of national democratic movements in the USSR that has recently been set up there and is headed by the notorious Paruyr Ayrikyan.

British correspondents work in a different key. Their articles and radio reports are full of conversations with representatives of Azerbaijani informal groups and references to their important statements. It would seem that they are extremely objective, citing as they do the voice of the people itself. However, the Armenian language station of RADIO LIBERTY has recently broadcast a report by a British correspondent claiming that at a Baku rally demands had been voiced to free all common criminals of Azeri nationality. This has never been asked or proposed by the Azerbaijan People's Front or by anyone else in Baku. It is ridiculous since in this day and age no respectable group would publicly declare its sympathy for common criminals. What was then the purpose of that cheap piece of radio disinformation?

One need not be a rocket scientist to see that it was an attempt to discredit all other demands of the republic's people voiced at the rally, which were largely legitimate. The only thing left to add to this is that the only foreign correspondent in Baku at the time was the REUTER'S (UK) correspondent Jonathan Lyons. Incidentally, his presence at the meeting on 14 August was announced by the People's Front with so much fanfare as though he were a representative of the UN at the very least. At last world public opinion would learn about the demands of the Azeri side, they seemed to declare. Well they did, did they not? And yet, those who invited J. Lyons to Baku could not have been ignorant of the position of the agency he represents. It is not difficult to find out, by the way. It would suffice to read reports of another REUTER'S correspondent, Susan Cornwell. Their hallmark is complete neglect of the interests of the Azeri people in resolving the so-called NKAO problem.

Let us be honest. Given the scarcity of information about events in the Azerbaijan SSR, the desire of the Azerbaijan People's Front to seek additional channels to get through to public opinion in this country and abroad is understandable. The front's desire to tell about the true state of this NKAO problem that has been invented by extremist elements is also easy to understand. But why act as Ostap Bender once suggested, on the assumption that "we will get help from abroad"?

One would think it is time to understand that no help is forthcoming. Rather, the other way around. But no. To the next meeting on 2 September, its organizers invited a veritable army of reporters. Such a number of video cameras and microphones probably were not seen in the Baku square even during the arrival of a famous state visitor. There was no doubt that the People's Front's press service did its job well. And what was the result?

"The meeting's participants demanded... that the administration of Nagornyy Karabakh consisted exclusively of Azers," wrote the very same NEW YORK TIMES.

"Young journalist Agir Aliyev noted that deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet from Azerbaijan and from the Central Asian republics are blind tools in the hands of the CPSU... They oppose every initiative of deputies from Moscow, Leningrad and the Baltic republics," reported the radio station VOICE OF AMERICA. This statement was based, incidentally, on the report by the very same W. Keller. Later, the station commented: "As is well-known, Azerbaijan Muslims, like Azers in Iran, are Shiites, while the majority of the population of Central Asia are Suni."

In other words, the correspondents reported to the whole world that those cursed Azers do not want to quit. They stubbornly refuse to respect legitimate demands and sincere feelings of the long-suffering people of Ancient Arzakh. In short, the Muslim force has awakened from the foothills of the Caucasus to the sands of Central Asia. For what reason? Because "they like Turkey better." Forget the NKAO; now, those Azers threaten to rebel against Moscow itself demanding "to put an end to colonial policies."

In other words, they were writing in their usual key.

Now, of course, A. Aliyev and others who probably deemed themselves national heroes as they spoke into the microphones of foreign reporters will hasten to deny and refute. They did not say this, or they were misunderstood. What can we say? Probably, the same thing the gullible groom Meshadi-Ibad told his friends and co-conspirators when they brought him his bride: "Before riding off with her, you should have looked, in case a fellow was given to you on the sly."

### Background of Formation of USSR at 1922 Congress Reviewed

18300817 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian,  
18 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with B.M. Morozov, doctor of historical sciences; G.S. Yeskov, doctor of historical sciences, and V.T. Kretov, delegate at the First All-Union Congress of the Soviets, by PRAVDA journalists Ye. Manko and A. Chernyak; date and place not specified]

[Text] We are studying the CPSU platform on the nationalities question with rapt attention. It encompasses the history of our state's development and the Leninist concept of peoples from various nationalities dwelling together in one country. In this regard it is of interest to look back at the past, although the headlong rush of time moves us ever farther from that memorable day, 30 December 1922, on which the First Unification Congress of the Soviet Republics adopted the decision to form the Union of SSR's. The political biography of our common home—the multi-nationality Union state—began on that day.

Today, judging by the editorial mailbag, interest in the first and subsequent all-Union congresses of the soviets has increased sharply. This is above all because of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which was held in the course of perestroika and democratic renewal of the country. It constituted a revival of the system of holding congresses of the soviets, a system which fully proved its worth in the early stage of socialist construction. Before the establishment of the Stalinist dictatorship the key questions of socialist and state construction and the development of inter-nationality relations were resolved at the all-Union congresses of the soviets in an atmosphere of free discussion. Through the congress of soviets system millions of workers and peasants, to use the words of V.I. Lenin, learned to govern and were beginning to learn how to manage the affairs of society and the multi-nationality state. The experience of the 20's has permanent value for us. Journalists from PRAVDA talked about this with B. M. Morozov and G.S. Yeskov, doctors of historical sciences, and V.T. Kretov, a delegate to the First All-Union Congress of the Soviets.

[Yeskov] It is not an easy time now. Perestroika is encountering many difficulties. In a number of regions of the country extremist and nationalistic groups are utilizing glasnost and pluralism to distort grossly the history of the creation and development of the Soviet federation. Having put on "perestroika" camouflage, they are stirring up national dissension; they are trying to drive a wedge into our unity and to split the federative union founded by V.I. Lenin. The great path travelled by the peoples of this country within the Soviet federation is painted with a black dye thickly mixed with fabrications and Russophobia.

The matter is not limited to nationalistic propaganda, political incitement or dangerous calls by one nationality to squeeze out another, which has already led to bloody

confrontations in a number of the country's regions. The extremists from the Baltic people's fronts are trying to cast doubt on the Agreement Concerning Formation of the USSR, which was adopted by the First All-Union Congress in 1922. In the Baltic one hears from high platforms speeches about replacing the Union principles with confederative ones...

[Morozov] The declarations concerning sovereignty, which have been adopted recently in the Baltic republics, as well as certain other documents, contain the idea of restoring the legal continuity of their state, which was interrupted in 1940. The ideals of the Soviet state system which was won by the working people of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as a result of the victory of Great October were consigned to oblivion.

We must not fail to note that ideologs from the nationalistic and extremist groups are making broad use of theses from the arsenal of a number of western political scientists to the effect that the First Unification Congress of the Soviet Republics, which created the Union of SSR's was a new twist in Russification, "Soviet Russian Nationalism," a measure to prevent the decline of Russia.

[PRAVDA] In this regard there are reasons for describing the conditions and preconditions which preceded the calling of the first All-Union Congress.

[Yeskov] The soviets functioned as the political basis of the unification movement, outposts for the solidarity of the country's peoples. The first decrees of Soviet power, "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," the first Soviet Constitution and the policy of the Bolshevik Party inspired the worker-peasant masses to the joint struggle to eliminate social and nationality oppression and to overcome the previous enmity and mutual distrust among peoples.

The triumphant march of Soviet power was accompanied by the formation of the Soviet national state system in the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic, the Trans-Caucasian area and Central Asia. Despite the sharp opposition of the counterrevolution, bourgeois nationalists and foreign imperialist forces, the enormous majority of the the laboring people developed an understanding of the need to combine the efforts of the republics with the RSFSR for the defense and establishment of the new order.

I will quote from documents of those years which testify to the growing priority given to the idea of unifying the efforts of the fraternal peoples. The All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, which took place in Kharkov in December 1917 resolved: "To establish between the worker-peasant government of the Russian Federation, as well as governments of the remaining parts of Russia, and the worker-village government of the Ukraine full coordination in goals and actions, which is essential in the interests of the workers and peasants of all peoples of the Russian Federation." The Second Congress of the Soviets of Latvia telegraphed on 17 December 1917 to

the RSFSR Sovnarkom (Council of People's Commissars) that the laboring people of the Latvian Kray "vow to support with all their forces the dictatorship of the workers and poorest peasants, headed by the soviets." The Provisional Revolutionary Worker-peasant Government of Lithuania addressed V.I. Lenin from liberated Vilnius (on 11 January 1919) saying: "We are firmly convinced that in the struggle for its own liberation the proletariat of Lithuania will march hand in hand with the Russian proletariat..." One can cite many such documents.

[Morozov] The joint struggle against the White Guards and interventionists, which required prodigious amounts of effort during the years of the civil war, was a severe test of the loyalty of the peoples in the national republics to the socialist choice. It was only because of the military-political union that the republics were able to defend the new life.

The tasks involved in overcoming the very harsh post-war dislocation and the economic revival of the republics accelerated the development of their ties and mutual assistance with the RSFSR. In a self-sacrificing and unselfish manner the Russian people helped them to build a new life. The growing Soviet unity found its expression in the conduct of a common foreign policy and the conclusion of agreements between the RSFSR and the other republics. After a difficult search for the best alternative, the legalization of the federal union of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and Abkhazia within the framework of the RSFSR was completed by the autumn of 1922.

Peaceful socialist construction as well as defense problems resulted in further solidarity among the Soviet republics. In reflecting this main tendency, the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RCP(B)] adopted a policy aimed at organizing a state union of the republics. Beginning in the summer of 1922 the question of their further integration based on the initiative of the republics' party organizations began to be discussed within the RCP(B) Central Committee.

[PRAVDA] What preparations were made for the calling of the First All-Union Congress of the Soviets; what principles did the party propose to the peoples of the country for legalization of the state union of the Soviet republics?

[Yeskov] As early as the civil war V.I. Lenin made some extremely clear comments on this fundamentally important question. "We want a voluntary union of nations—the kind of union which would not permit any violence of one nation against another, the kind of union which would be founded on the fullest trust, on a clear consciousness of fraternal unity and on a completely voluntary agreement. This kind of union cannot be achieved immediately; first there must be work carried out with the greatest patience and care in order not to damage the cause..." These ideas of V.I. Lenin served and continue

to serve today as a platform for all who are interested in strengthening the Union of SSR's.

As a convinced internationalist, V.I. Lenin was intolerant of nationalistic capers in any form, whether it was local nationalism or chauvinism; he uncompromisingly opposed those who inflamed inter-nationality dissension.

And it was V.I. Lenin who had the deciding word in the sharp polemics which heated up during the search for concrete state forms and political institutions for the Union being born. As is well known, on the threshold of the Unification Congress there were clashes of opposing opinions. Some voted for unification of the republics within the framework of an amorphous confederation. Others—among them I.V. Stalin, the general secretary and RSFSR People's Commissar for Nationality Affairs, were for harshly imposing the principle of "autonomization," i.e., for simply having all the republics enter the Russian federation, for limiting their sovereignty and establishing all power at the center.

It was only thanks to the energetic intervention of V.I. Lenin, who proved the groundlessness and incorrectness of "autonomization," that the October (1922) plenum of the RCP(B) Central Committee recommended the formation of the Union of SSR's as a "new layer, a federation of republics with equal rights." In this way V.I. Lenin made an innovative contribution to the groundwork for a new type of socialist federalism. At the same time he provided an instructive example of a creative approach to the resolution of complex questions of inter-nationality relations.

[PRAVDA] The Narkomnats (People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs) was mentioned above. What tasks did this organ work to resolve; how did I.V. Stalin function in the position of people's commissar?

[Morozov] The Commissariat for Nationality Affairs was formed by the Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets on 26 October (8 November) 1917, and it was eliminated by a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in 1923 as having fulfilled its tasks. The Narkomnats was called on to implement the nationalities policy of the Bolshevik Party; to promote national-state construction, the training of nationality personnel and the strengthening of friendship and cooperation among working people of various nationalities; and to participate constructively in the preparation for the establishment of the Union of SSR's.

As for Stalin's role as a leader of this commissariat, it was obviously exaggerated during his life time. In fact, because he was busy with other obligations, he worked in the commissariat for a total of only about three months during 1917-1922. Of course, in those years Stalin made his contribution toward the implementation of the party's nationalities policy; however, his work as a people's commissar was not free of serious inadequacies and failures.

[Yeskov] By the beginning of 1922 the idea of creating a union of free peoples had firmly taken hold of the masses of working people of all nationalities. From everywhere, from all corners of the country a stream of letters and resolutions by soviets, workers meetings and rural assemblies containing proposals to speed up the legalization of the federal union literally poured in to the RCP(B) Central Committee, to Lenin personally, to the Central Executive Committee (CEC) and to the editorial boards of newspapers.

Let us note in particular that the question of unification was raised from below, by the republics themselves. The All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, which was held on 10-14 December 1922, in expressing the will of the republic's working people, appealed to the workers and peasants of Russia, Belorussia and the Trans-Caucasian area "with a fraternal proposal to turn immediately to the legalization of the Union of Soviet Republics, which already exists in fact." The Congress expressed confidence that only a single Union of the SSR's, which strengthens—on the principles of equality—the close economic and political ties of the republics, and which ensures at the same time the independence of national-cultural construction and provides the necessary guarantees for the manifestation of economic initiative by each of the Union members, would be the best form for the resolution of the nationalities question.

The Transcaucasian Congress of the Soviets (10-13 December) and the All-Belorussian Congress of the Soviets (14-18 December) expressed themselves in favor of unification into one union state.

[Morozov] The participation of delegations from the Soviet republics in the work of the 10th All-Russian Congress of the Soviets (23-27 December 1922) became an important link in the preparation for the Unification Congress. After listening to I.V. Stalin's report on unifying the Soviet republics and the presentations by delegates and representatives from other republics (M.V. Frunze from the UkSSR, M.G. Tskhakaya from Georgia, G.M. Musabekov from Azerbaijan and others), the congress recognized as timely the unification of the RSFSR, UkSSR, ZSFSR (Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and the BSSR into the Union of SSR's. Its resolution stated that "the principle of voluntary agreement and equal rights for the republics must be made the basis for unification, with each of them retaining the right of free withdrawal from the Union of republics."

It was presumed that V.I. Lenin would speak at the congress (a summary of the speech he never gave has been preserved); however, illness made it impossible for him to do this.

[PRAVDA] What was the composition of the deputies at the first All-Union Congress of the Soviets?

[Yeskov] An enormous majority of the delegates was chosen for the congress at republic and local congresses (80.9 percent with the right to vote). The rest received

mandates from plenums of the soviets and ispolkoms, from public organizations and from army conferences. The composition of the USSR Congress of the Soviets was based on representation norms, agreed upon in advance and in proportion to the population of the republics. The total number of delegates chosen was 2,215, including 1,727 from the RSFSR, 364 from the UkSSR, 91 from the ZSFSR and 33 from the BSSR.

According to the data of the mandate commission, blue-collar workers, at 44.4 percent, were predominant in the social composition of the delegates. Peasants amounted to 26.8 percent, while white-collar workers and members of the intelligentsia constituted 28.8 percent. Representatives of more than 50 nationalities were sent as delegates to the congress.

[Morozov] An important event preceded the congress. On 29 December a Conference of Plenipotentiary Delegations, chosen by congresses of the soviets in the RSFSR, UkSSR, ZSFSR and BSSR, gathered in the Andreyevskiy Hall of the Kremlin Palace. The participants heard the draft texts of the Declaration Concerning the Formation of the USSR and the Union Agreement, which were given preliminary consideration by the delegations from the founder-republics. After an exchange of opinions the conference approved the drafts of the documents and resolved to postpone their ceremonial signing until the morning of 30 December, and subsequently to put them forward for discussion by the congress. At the same time the delegations came to an agreement on the place, time of opening and agenda for the All-Union Congress of the Soviets. As we see, the preparation for the adoption of the historic decision took place in an atmosphere of openness and on the basis of equal rights, as well as of the observance of the principles of democracy and socialist internationalism.

[PRAVDA] The next-to-last day of the outgoing year 1922 was fated to become the first day of the countdown in the patriotic history of the All-Union Congresses of the Soviets. How did the work of the Unification Congress go?

[Yeskov] The signing of the drafts of the Declaration Concerning the Formation of the USSR and the Agreement Concerning the Formation of the USSR took place on the morning of 30 December. The originals of the documents have about 90 signatures of members of the plenipotentiary delegations from the RSFSR, UkSSR, ZSFSR and BSSR.

Vladimir Timofeyevich Kretov joins the conversation. A member of the party since March 1917, he did party work in the city of Yuryevets and in Shuya during the first years of Soviet power. Everywhere that summer and fall the question of creating a single multi-nationality Soviet state was being discussed. Elections for delegates to the 10th All-Russian and First All-Union Congresses of the Soviets began. And the workers of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Province chose their own 13 delegates. They



included V.T. Kretov, sent by the weavers of the Tezinskaya Factory in the city of Shuya.

[Kretov] The weather was surprisingly warm for a Moscow December; there was thawing, and a fog settled over the city. The Bolshoy Theater, decorated with banners and red cloths, reminded one of an enormous torch.

The congress began its work at 11 o'clock in the morning. The session was opened by one of the oldest delegates, Petr Germogenovich Smidovich, a former "Iskra" agent who participated in three Russian revolutions and the civil war. He talked excitedly about the historical moment—the decision by the republics to unite voluntarily into the powerful indissoluble Union of the SSR's. "Up to now our states," he said, "stood as separate armies on one battle front. Jointly we were engaged in defending one cause: the power of labor and the power of the soviets against a unified front of imperialist governments; we were building a socialist economy despite the onslaught of capital. And what an enormous force of resistance we found when the forces of the separate republics were united in the face of every danger which would arise! Let us recall our struggle at the hungry front. Let us recall the trains from St. Petersburg to the Tatar republic or from Moscow to Chuvash Oblast. Let us recall steamers headed from Georgia to the Crimea or convoys with bread from Belorussia and the Ukraine to the starving Volga area. This unification of the forces of the individual republics resulted in our victories on the fronts of foreign combat as well as on the domestic economic fronts. Today we are uniting into a single state; we are forming one political and economic organism."

In this historic act the conference participants saw an inexhaustible source of the creative forces of progress for the Motherland of October. The congress agenda included three points: consideration of the Declaration Concerning the Formation of the USSR; consideration of the Agreement Concerning Formation of the USSR; and elections for the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

The floor was passed to I.V. Stalin for a report. After combining the first two points of the agenda, he limited himself to a short speech, in which he clarified essentially the points of the report which he made at the 10th All-Russian Congress of the Soviets. The speaker judged the day on which the All-Union Congress was called to be a watershed, which marked a break between the five-year period which had passed since the revolution, during which the republics, although they acted jointly, nonetheless concerned themselves primarily with the problems of their own existence, and the new period, in which they felt an urgent need to unite into a Union state "for the formation of forces" in the name of social-economic progress and protection from the external military threat.

[PRAVDA] Further, as is well known, Stalin read the texts of the Declaration Concerning the Formation of the

Union of SSR's and the Union Agreement, approved on the eve by the Conference of Plenipotentiary Delegates of the Soviet republics. It would seem useful to disclose the content of these documents.

[MOROZOV] A brief evaluation of the content of the Declaration Concerning the Formation of the Union of SSR's would focus on its key aspect, which is the conclusion concerning the great role of the soviets in bringing together the peoples of the country and in creating the federation. "The very building of Soviet power, which is international in its class nature," the document points out, "pushes the working masses of the Soviet republics onto the path of unification into one socialist family." Further, it was emphasized that joining the Union guarantees to the Soviet republics external security, economic and cultural progress and freedom of national development for the fraternal peoples.

While it established in the congress documents its platform demand concerning the right of the nationalities to self-determination, even to the extent of separation, the Bolshevik Party explained to the masses the advantages of one major state, which in economic and political regards is much stronger than small ones. While taking into account the realities of the 20th century, V.I. Lenin as early as October 1917 set out the Bolshevik position on this question: "We, for our part, absolutely do not want separation. We want as large a state as possible, as close a union as possible and as many nationalities as possible living in neighborliness with the Great Russians; we want this in the interests of democracy and socialism... We want revolutionary-proletarian unity, unification not division." This idea was realized as a result of the creation of the Union of SSR's; it has passed the test of history and is especially timely at the present stage in the renewal of the CPSU nationalities policy.

[Kretov] I would like to emphasize that at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and at the First USSR Congress of People's Deputies it was noted that the accumulated experience, including both undisputed achievements, as well as serious failures and mistakes, in addition to economic calculations and political awareness convince us that only together can we move forward. Today the tightest threads tie all our republics to each other. For this reason the disintegration of the federation would set us back a long way—especially the small republics; it would inflict irreparable losses, both material and moral, on every nationality and every person. Only by strengthening a renewed federation is it possible to resolve in a fair way the accumulated problems in inter-nationality relations, and to create the conditions for every republic and the Union as a whole to flourish.

[Yeskov] The Agreement Concerning the Formation of the USSR, which was presented to the congress for approval contained the Leninist internationalist party policy with regard to the voluntary unification of the sovereign republics—with equal rights—of the RSFSR, UkSSR, BSSR and ZSFSR into a union state. The

Agreement had 28 articles, which defined the sphere of competence of the Union of SSR's and embodied V.I. Lenin's proposal on the creation of a CEC for the entire federation with representation—based on equal rights—of the union republics in it. The jurisdiction of the Union in the person of its highest organs was to include questions of representation before the external world, foreign affairs, the conclusion of agreements concerning acceptance of new republics into the Union and foreign trade. Only the Union had the right to determine military policy and the bases for the organization of the unified Armed Forces.

The Union state combined the most important economic and political levers of management in the interests of developing all the republics. It established the bases of a general plan for the development of the national economy, a single state budget, the monetary and credit system, the general principles for the system of land use, for the judicial system and legal procedure, as well as Union-wide civil and criminal legislation, and it regulated transport and postal-telegraph affairs. The Union was entrusted with the establishment of general principles in the area of labor, education, health care and statistics. The Union had the right to repeal decrees of the congresses of soviets, CEC's and sovnarkoms of the Union republics which violated the Agreement. One—Union—citizenship was established for all citizens of the republics. The USSR Congress of the Soviets was called upon to be the supreme organ of power, and in the period between congresses the USSR CEC, which was elected at the congress from representatives of the union republics in proportion to the size of the population in each. The executive organ of the USSR CEC was the USSR Sovnarkom, which was elected by the USSR CEC for the period the latter was in power, and consisted of a chairman of the USSR Sovnarkom, his deputies and 10 people's commissars.

The Agreement demarcated the jurisdictional areas of the Union of SSR's and the Union republics. Limits were established on the plenary powers of the latter. The republics voluntarily limited their areas of competence for the sake of forming forces for the acceleration of socio-economic progress and in the interests of an intelligent division of labor and cooperation on a country-wide scale.

The Union Agreement ensured the preservation of the sovereignty of the union republics. While Article 13 established the mandatory nature of the acts adopted by the highest organs of the Union for all the republics and for the entire territory of the country, Article 15 established the right of the CEC's of the union republics to appeal decrees and resolutions of the USSR Sovnarkom and of the USSR CEC Presidium, "without holding up their execution." In exceptional cases, if the orders of the Union narkoms (people's commissars) obviously contradicted the existing legislation, the CEC's of the Union republics (their presidiums), in accordance with Article 17, had the right to hold up their execution, having informed the USSR Sovnarkom and the appropriate

narkom. These points were not included in the 1936 USSR Constitution, the road to departmental arbitrariness, license and the accumulation of all power at the center having been opened up.

[PRAVDA] Clearly it is particularly necessary to isolate the final, 26th article of the Agreement, which reserved for each of the Union republics the right of free withdrawal from the Union. This Leninist principle was and remains the basis for the voluntary unification of the republics into the Union of SSR's.

[Kretov] Yes, and there is more. Here is what I want to say. In my view, it is useful to learn from the experience of those years, when the soviets were organized with consideration for the territorial-nationality principle. For example, in the mid-20's the UkSSR had 12 nationality rayons plus about 500 nationality rural soviets—Russian, Polish, German, Jewish, Bulgarian, Moldavian, Czech... The existence of chambers of deputies within the supreme soviets of the Union republics could make a serious contribution to the optimization of inter-nationality relations. The equality of nationalities and peoples must exist in fact; in everyday life it must be related to the equality of people regardless of their nationality and place of residence. Only in this way, in my opinion, can one promote the highest principle of human civilization, which was incorporated into the Union Agreement; the content of the agreement was a major contribution to the theory and practice of building a multi-nationality state, and it has not lost its significance in our time.

[PRAVDA] The congress delegates were acquainted in advance with the drafts of the Declaration and the Union Agreement, some of them had participated directly in their preparation. And what kind of proposals were heard from the podium of the congress? What was the mood at its sessions?

[Morozov] An atmosphere of triumphant excitement, trust and mutual understanding reigned at the conference. But this did not reduce the sense of responsibility which the delegations felt when decisions were being taken. One noteworthy fact. In concluding his report V.I. Stalin proposed to the delegates that they adopt "with the unanimity characteristic of communists" the texts of the Declaration and the Agreement. However M.V. Frunze, in opening the discussion, put forward an alternative proposal that they adopt the texts of the documents for the most part and then subsequently, after consideration had been given to experience and additional work to be carried out on them both centrally and locally, bring them into effect at the session of the USSR CEC. "Here, comrades, is that path, which we think from all viewpoints best guarantees that the Union Agreement which is being concluded by the Union peoples is correct and most in line with their vital interests. This path would seem to be long, but we must face the fact that the cause which we have now undertaken is a matter of exceptional importance; it is worth

taking more than one or two months to ensure that the results of this creative work are as perfect as possible."

[Kretov] I can hear those words as if it were today. M.V. Frunze's draft of the resolution was approved. The congress approved the Declaration and the Union Agreement for the most part. In view of the extreme importance of the documents being adopted and the desirability of hearing the definitive opinion of all the republics making up the Union with regard to the Agreement, the congress entrusted the CEC's of the union republics to consider their texts again. The next session of the USSR CEC was assigned to study the proposals from local areas, to put into effect the Declaration and the Agreement and then to present them for the final approval of the Second Congress of the Soviets.

[B.M. Morozov] According to Mikhi Tskhakay's proposal, which named the day, 30 December 1922, as worthy to go down in history as a holiday, the delegates adopted one more resolution. They instructed the USSR CEC to "establish a holiday throughout the USSR to mark the formation of the USSR."

[Kretov] The time has come to revive this national holiday, which is second in significance to the anniversary of Great October. The USSR Supreme Soviet must provide a specific instructions on about this. Of related interest is a decision which was taken on the construction of a Palace of the Soviets in Moscow; unfortunately, it was not completed.

[Yeskov] The congress concluded with the election of the USSR CEC composed of 371 members and 138 candidates (in proportion to the size of the population of the union republics). In the process the RSFSR and the UkSSR voluntarily gave up a number of seats in favor of the less populated republics. Blue-collar workers constituted 46.2 percent of the USSR CEC; peasants constituted 13.6 percent, and 40.2 percent were white-collar workers and members of the intelligentsia.

In the evening, after the closing of the congress, the first session of the USSR Central Executive Committee was held; it chose the presidium of the first CEC of the Union of SSR's, consisting of 19 members and 13 candidates. Then the USSR CEC chose its chairmen (based on the number of Union republics): M.I. Kalinin from the RSFSR, G.I. Petrovskiy from the UkSSR, N.N. Narimanov from the ZSFSR and A.G. Chervyakov from the BSSR; A.S. Yenukidze was approved as secretary of the USSR CEC.

The session imposed upon the USSR CEC presidium the job of arranging for the formulation of a draft of the first USSR Constitution and for the formation of the executive organs of power.

[PRAVDA] How effective were the USSR CEC and its presidium in solving the tasks set by the First All-Union Congress of the Soviets?

[Morozov] With the active participation of the Central Committee of the RCP(B), the USSR CEC and its presidium were able to carry out a great deal of work within a short period. As early as mid-February 1923 the preparation of a draft USSR Constitution was completed. The draft was examined in detail with consideration for the recommendations expressed by V.I. Lenin in his letter "On the Nationalities Question or Concerning 'Autonomization,'" which was announced to the delegations at the 12th RCP (B) Congress and found reflection in a resolution on the nationalities question.

An expanded commission, to which the presidium of the USSR CEC introduced 20 representatives from the Union republics and a number of autonomous republics, worked on the draft of the Basic Law until the middle of June. At the same time a constitution commission of the RCP(B) Central Committee worked intensively, clarifying a number of formulations in the draft of the Basic Law. After this the text of the draft USSR Constitution was approved by the June (1923) plenum of the RCP(B) Central Committee, as well as by sessions of the CEC's of the Union republics.

[Yeskov] The results of this work were summed by the second session of the USSR CEC, which took place on 6 July 1923. After hearing a report by A.S. Yenukidze, it discussed the USSR Constitution chapter by chapter and put it into effect; the Declaration Concerning the Formation of the USSR and the Union Agreement served as its foundation. After the additions and clarifications were considered, it was decided to put the text of the USSR Basic Law forward for final approval by the Second All-Union Congress of the Soviets.

Among the substantial additions which were made to the text of the Union Agreement (it constituted the second section of the USSR Constitution), the strengthening of the political guarantees of representation in the USSR CEC of all the national republics and oblasts on the principle of equality should be singled out. Toward this aim a new organ, the Soviet of Nationalities, was introduced alongside the already-functioning Soviet of the Union. It was decided to organize it within the USSR CEC, beginning with the Second All-Union Congress of the Soviets.

Also included within the jurisdiction of the USSR in the person of its supreme organs were such important sub-points of Article 1 as "settlement of questions of change in the boundaries between Union republics" and "resolution of disputatious questions arising between Union republics."

[Morozov] Let us add to this that in completing the formation of executive and administrative organs, the USSR CEC session approved the composition of the first Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR. V.I. Lenin was chosen as chairman of the USSR Sovnarkom. L.B. Kamenev, A.I. Rykov, A.D. Tsyurupa, B. Ya. Chubarya, G.K. Ordzhonikidze and I.D. Orakhelashvili were approved as deputy chairmen. The Union-level people's

commissariats were headed by the following: G.V. Chicherin (Foreign Affairs); L.D. Trotsky (Military and Naval Affairs); L.V. Krasin (Foreign Trade); F. E. Dzerzhinskiy (Communications) and I.N. Smirnov (Post and Telegraph). The unified people's commissariats of the Union were headed by A.I. Rykov (Highest Soviet of the Economy); N.P. Bryukhanov (Food); V.V. Shmidt (Labor); G.Ya. Sokolnikov (Finances) and V.V. Kuybyshev (Worker and Peasant Inspectorate).

On 13 July 1923 the USSR CEC in an "Appeal to All Peoples and Governments of the World" provided information about the creation of the Union of SSR's; it also let it be known that the higher organs of state power and government had begun to operate.

[PRAVDA] The USSR Congress of the Soviets marked the start of a profoundly democratic practice of calling forums that were truly for all the people and of combining the socialist state form with self-government by the people.

[Kretov] That is so. The words of P.G. Smidovich come to mind. In noting the enormous desire of the peoples in the republics to move closer to each other, to trust and know each other more, and to build a new life as one family, he said with great vision that now "every wound from outside, every internal pain in any distant area is reflected at the same time in all the parts of the state and calls forth a corresponding reaction throughout the entire organism of the Union." These words come to mind when one recalls Chernobyl, the unselfish assistance which arrived in Armenia from all over the country when it suffered from an unprecedented earthquake, or the multitude of other real manifestations of the fraternity of the Soviet peoples. These words strike at those who have taken a position of nationalism, chauvinism or Russophobia, who have forgotten their responsibility before the present and future of the Soviet people.

[Yeskov] Time has illuminated the permanent significance of the decision taken by the congress for a multinationality family of peoples in our Fatherland. By combining their efforts it has been possible for them to overcome age-old backwardness, to reach the frontiers of modern-day civilization and to defend the gains of socialism. Despite all the difficulties, the distortions and mistakes of the past, the Union has withstood the test of time and remains the deciding force of social progress for the Soviet peoples.

[Kretov] Yes, today the contribution of the First All-Union Congress of the Soviets to the development of sovereignty of the people is seen with particular clarity. The restoration—at the initiative of the party—of the system of the soviets provides evidence that the democracy of socialism and inter-nationality relations have entered a qualitatively new stage. The formation and work of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the rapid politization of the masses make it possible to conclude that reviving the practice of holding the

Congresses of the Soviets is a timely step, one of the important results of political reform and a component of perestroika. And today it is necessary to remember Lenin's wise advice: "There is no point in learning to resolve new tasks with new methods today, if yesterday's experience did not open our eyes."

### Enlarged, Revised Edition of Gromyko's Memoirs To Be Published

18300818 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Sep 89 p 4

[Article by Vsevolod Parkhitko, former Gromyko aide: "From Gromyko's Pen: 'Memoirs'"]

[Text] The Political Literature Publishing House [Politizdat] has provided an excerpt from the second, enlarged edition of A.A. Gromyko's memoirs, "Memoirs," to our newspaper's editorial office. The book should come out at the end of this year, and a former aide to the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium writes about how the book was created, and reveals some of the judgments voiced by the author in private conversations. Obviously, these expressed conclusions and opinions cannot but reflect, to a certain extent, the ambivalence and equivocality of both the personage Gromyko himself and the time to which he belonged....

"Here, I've jotted down some things!" Andrey Andreyevich began almost every working week during the last 3 years before his retirement with such words, and handed me pages invariably covered with writing in blue pencil.

This meant that it was necessary to retype and proofread the pages, and make suggestions to him for editing the text.

As a matter of fact, the just elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium already had a mountain of reference documents ready when I started working as his aide. The developmental history of the Soviet Union's relations with various countries over the past 50 years was reflected in them. Associates of various USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs departments had prepared these documents.

Preparation for the Presidium chairman's meetings with his visitors and preparation of reports for the mass information media on almost all of the talks that took place were included in my duties.

To these was added work on the book as well. We met for this purpose almost every Saturday or Sunday. During Andrey Andreyevich's vacation, I also had to travel with him to the place where he vacationed.

I had to stay in a resort home about 70 kilometers from his dacha. We met after lunch. He habitually dictated, more often simply narrated, and sometimes he gave me his pages, all written over with that same blue pencil. At about 9:00 in the evening, or later, I arrived at my place. I had to write and type all of this during the night and

morning. I sat up beyond midnight, and, at 6:00 in the morning, I greeted the new day already at my desk again.

At noon, I set out with the ready material to see the author again. He corrected and supplemented that which had been done the day before, and added new topics.

There were, of course, the kinds of materials that he considered ready "at first try," so to speak. But seldom. As a rule, what had been done the day before was redone, often painfully and many times.

In Moscow, the intervals between our meetings on the book extended from Sunday to Saturday because of the primary work. Thus it turned out that he was 9 years in preparing the first edition of his memoirs. There are about 1,200 typewritten pages in it. The second edition—there are over 300 pages of additional text—was done faster, in 1 year altogether.

The difference between the editions is substantial. In the first edition, he tells primarily about his career in the foreign policy field. The second includes mainly supplements relative to internal events in our state and the people who took part in them. Here the reader will find the author's personal opinions of Beriya, Voroshilov, Vyshinskiy, and a number of other famous persons.

The reader, of course, received the first edition equivocally.

Many entirely favorable responses have been coming in. A 200,000-copy impression sold out very fast. Those who had been unable to buy the book at a store complained that the two-volume book cost 50 rubles on the "black market" in Moscow, 100 in Kiev, and 300 in Tbilisi. According to results of the public opinion poll that the newspaper KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE's [BOOK REVIEW's] editorial office regularly conducts, A.A. Gromyko's "Memoirs" took one of the first places among the most widely read books in the first 6 months of 1988. In the fall of the same year, the Politizdat put out an additional impression of the first edition—100,000 more copies—in response to many requests from various parts of the country.

However, quite a few opinions of the directly opposite nature have also been expressed. This has mainly been explained by the book's giving a complex evaluation of Stalin. Whereas the entire press is filled with material exposing the "leader and teacher's" crimes, Gromyko, while recognizing those crimes, at the same time unexpectedly writes about Stalin in many places as a man who also possessed certain kinds of positive qualities and knew how to inspire Roosevelt and Churchill's respect....

"But don't you think, Andrey Andreyevich," I once asked him, "that you may be accused of conservatism and inability to keep pace with the times?"

"No, I don't think so," he responded. "In the first place, I am keeping pace with the times. My overall evaluation of Stalin agrees with the one that was given in Gorbachev's report dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of Great October. We had discussed this report in the

Politburo beforehand, and it also reflects my point of view. But, in the second place, I usually met with Stalin at international conferences, or at Politburo sessions when international issues were also being discussed. As for me, and many representatives of my generation, it never entered our heads that all of the lawlessness stemmed from him. We were all living under cult conditions then. His unmasking and, accordingly, the enlightening of my awareness began at the 20th Party Congress, and is particularly extensive in our days of perestroika....

"Yes, Stalin was a criminal who caused the death of a great many innocent Soviet people. However, he stood at the head of a state that withstood Germany's mighty blow and defeated the cruel and powerful enemy. By this, I do not mean to say that Stalin was a great military commander. Quite enough has already been written about his miscalculations and blunders in military affairs before the war and during its course, particularly during its first period. Some critics are forgetting something else: He could learn, and the Stalin of the war's second period differed from the Stalin of its first months. In the second period, beginning with Stalingrad, all ideas relative to the war's conduct and operations originated in professional circles—they were Zhukov's, Vasilievskiy's, and those of other representatives of the army's higher command. Stalin merely approved them. However, what cannot be taken away from him, and what he handled well—this was the selection of personnel. Yes, in the war's first stage, he blamed his own fault for the debacles on many generals, and ordered that they be shot. At the same time, he unhesitatingly removed the famous civil war heroes Voroshilov and Budenny, and the former People's Commissar [Narkom] Timoshenko, from their posts at the front. He was able to understand that military commanders of a new mentality, generals who thought untraditionally, would be needed in the war. He retained what was most important from his point of view in his own hands: promotion and assignment of the higher military personnel, frontline operational commanders, and soldier philosophers. Thus was Zhukov promoted during the war years. With all of his personal dislike of him, Stalin depended on him as the most able combat general, who knew how to wring victory from the enemy both in individual large-scale operations and on the entire front as a whole.

"But Hitler did not know how to select personnel. He shuffled one and the same deck of old generals. He was afraid to promote the young ones. This was so both after the defeat at Moscow and after the disaster at Stalingrad, and even at the very end of the war before the capitulation. I think too few historians have paid attention to this factor. But it is important, both for understanding our victory and explaining Hitler Germany's defeat in the second world war...."

He saw that I was quickly making notes on what he was discussing, and, having thought for a while, he said:

"I probably shall not undertake to write about this in the book."

"Why?"

"To do so is pointless..." and he added:

"Let the military specialists create treatises on this subject."

That is what he said—"treatises...." A touch of irony obviously crept through in this word. The irony stemmed from the fact that, in his opinion, those who lived under the "leader" and publicly praised him endlessly very often became the most malevolent anti-Stalinists.

"But don't you think that you may be faulted for the nonconformity of what you are saying to the general view on Stalin that is now being expounded in the newspapers and magazines?"

"Don't you see," he commented, "many repressed people, or their children, are writing for the press now. Stalin's image as a criminal has been created mainly on the basis of their recollections and new documents. But this image is one-sided. I knew Stalin personally, and I differ from other current memoirists in this respect. I have always considered him a great organizer...although it has also been made clear that he was a criminal. Herein lies a tragic ambivalence. For that reason, he is now given evaluation as a tragically ambivalent personality. The present generation will pass—we shall call him "personally wronged"—and after about 50 to 100 years our people's opinion of Stalin will be something else, perhaps more circumspect. That is what I think...."

Interest in A.A. Gromyko's memoirs is very great. The English publishing house (Hutchison) has made a one-volume book of the two-volume one by abridging the text. So far, the book has also been published in Italy, the FRG, the Netherlands, Australia, the USA, and a number of other Western countries in addition to England. Within the next few months, it will appear in Japan, Spain, India, Finland, and a number of Latin American countries....

"This will be the last edition of his memoirs during his lifetime," said Politizdat Director Aleksandr Prokofyevich Polyakov.

"Why 'during his lifetime'?" I wondered: "The author is no longer alive."

"Publishers usually speak this way if an author managed to make his own changes and additions to a writing."

Yes, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko managed the second edition of "Memoirs" himself—from start to finish....

## New Information Implicates SMERSH in Wallenberg's Disappearance

18300819 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian, 15 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by A. Kartsev: "The Wallenberg Affair: Do the Tracks Lead to SMERSH?"]

[Text] Our investigation into the fate of the Swedish diplomat Raul Wallenberg, who disappeared from Hungary in 1945 and, according to official information, died after 2 years in Lyubyanka Prison, has already continued for over 3 months. During that time, we have received dozens of readers' letters, sent inquiries to numerous organizations (including the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MID] and the USSR Committee for State Security [KGB]), met with various people who had some relation to the Swedish diplomat's fate, and thrown light on new facts and names.

It is probably pointless to remind the reader one more time that the fascists' desperate resistance turned Budapest into a fiery hell at the beginning of the most terrible war's final year: houses and entire blocks converted into fortresses, mine fields, bombardments, tank engagements on the narrow streets, and fires. In saving itself from the rolling barrage, the civilian population took shelter in the basements and sewers, suffered from the cold, went hungry, and had no medical aid. Dozens of people died daily from the bullets, bombs, shells, mines, and falling rubble. Finding out something concerning the fate of a specific person in Pest, already liberated by our troops, or in Buda, where the fascists were still holding out, was just as improbable as getting a note from a passenger aboard a falling airliner. In this sense, the improbable occurred—on 16 January 1945, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs V. Dekanozov informed the Swedish party that, according to reports from the soldiers, the Swedish Mission secretary, Raul Wallenberg, had been discovered in Pest, and Soviet authorities had taken steps to safeguard him and his property.

In the course of 12 long years after this, Dekanozov's memorandum was refuted in every possible way, and the Swedish diplomat's name was used exclusively in conjunction with the words "we do not know," "is not available," and "there is no information of any kind."

Thus we experienced pleasant amazement when a letter from war veteran Vasiliy Vasilyevich Silyava [Last name unclear printed], who had commanded the 3d Infantry Battalion of the 317th Red Banner Division's 761st Infantry Regiment in those days, arrived in the editorial office from Irkutsk. Vasiliy Vasilyevich had looked at the photograph of R. Wallenberg published by us and remembered.... Here are some lines from his letter: "It was 13 or 14 January 1945. A messenger ran up to me in the morning, and informed me that some sort of embassy was located within about 40 meters. Despite heavy machine gun fire, we advanced to the building and knocked at the door. It was opened for us. I, my orderly, and the messenger went inside. A rather handsome young man with a widow's peak was standing near a table in the room,

talking on a telephone. My stock of Hungarian words was extremely limited, but we understood that a Swedish Mission secretary was before us."

Vasiliy Vasilyevich further writes that he has not heard the name Wallenberg in all of these years, although he has been in Hungary several times since the war, and has even given an interview to Hungarian journalists. However, he read the article in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, saw the photograph, and.... In the second letter that we received from Silyava, he wrote: "I categorically confirm that the man with the widow's peak, whom I saw on the telephone, and the one pictured in your photograph are one and the same person."

Judging by all of this, our investigation has struck upon the link by which even Dekanozov himself received his information about the diplomat.

If this is so, then the version that Wallenberg was kidnapped in Budapest by Soviet commando units, as many in the West believe even to this day, becomes extremely unreasonable. Indeed, you must agree that once Pesht was already liberated and a guard force posted at the mission doors, it was possible, at worst, to detain or arrest the diplomat; but a military action, and one as complicated as a kidnapping at that, becomes an utter absurdity. Thanks to the help of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which furnished us with copies of the most significant articles on Wallenberg published in the West, we succeeded in finding the source of the version about the kidnapping.

It originated in 1981, when the influential Swedish newspaper (AFONBLADET), in three successive editions, published the story of Yakov Lakhotskiy-Menker, a former Soviet Army officer, who had fought at Budapest, and who had emigrated to Israel in 1979.

Lakhotskiy recalls that he met a certain Aminyev, who worked as warehouse manager on the Nagaybaskiy Sovkhoz, at one of the veterans reunions that took place in Chelyabinsk during the mid-1970's. Aminyev wore the Order of Aleksandr Nevskiy medal on his chest with particular pride. And lo, while returning home during the evening after the festive banquet, Aminyev told Lakhotskiy that he had received the medal for kidnapping Wallenberg. A commando group, having slipped into Budapest, had assaulted the diplomat. The latter attempted to resist, was beaten, tied up, and carried past the German positions to the Soviet units' lines with a gag in his mouth. The gallant Aminyev seemingly served in a so-called "2d Squadron," which the 18th Army, included in the 4th Ukrainian Front that ran only through northernmost Hungary, had secretly placed in support of the 2d and 3d Ukrainian Front units that were fighting for Budapest. At that time, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev commanded the 18th Army's Political Department....

Lakhotskiy's version perfectly explained why our people had not known the name Raul Wallenberg for 40 long years. Besides Aminyev, other officers of the "2d Squadron" also were named in the (AFTONBLADET) [sic] interview—Major Kolotilo, Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov,

Colonel Levin, and Viktor Aleksandrovich Reshetnikov, who later seemingly became chairman of the 18th Army Veterans Council....

We undertook to verify the Lakhotskiy version methodically. And we immediately ran into a great many surprises. In the first place, the Nagaybaskiy Sovkhoz Personnel Department categorically denied that an Aminyev had worked for the Sovkhoz in the mid-1970's. There had never been a person with such a last name on the farm. In the second place, neither had anyone ever heard of an Aminyev, awarded the Order of Aleksandr Nevskiy medal, at the rayon military commissariat in the settlement of (Fershampenuaz), which has jurisdiction over all of Chelyabinsk Oblast's Nagaybaskiy Rayon, and where all Second World War veterans and all recipients of medals of the various orders are registered.

It was necessary to phone the 18th Army Veterans Council secretary, Nikolay Ivanovich Okunev, who lives and works in Moscow. Having found out what was wanted, he requested 2 days for searching. His answer was as follows: "Today our army's veterans live in 46 cities of the Soviet Union, and it was necessary to check all of the index files. We know neither Aminyev, Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov, Kolotilo, nor Levin. We had no such officers. I can add entirely officially that Reshetnikov also is absolutely unknown to us, and thus could not possibly have been chairman of the Veterans Council. Moreover, our army hardly fought at all in Hungary."

Vitaliy Ivanovich Fomin, Candidate of Historical Sciences and military historian, "buries" the Lakhotskiy version last.

"Information to the effect that the 4th Ukrainian Front's 18th Army could have transferred some sort of units to the Budapest area at that time is not in accordance with the facts, to put it mildly. That army's situation at the time was such that it, itself, needed reinforcements. During the battles in Hungary, the 2d Ukrainian Front supported the 4th and not vice versa. They began to write especially vigorously about the 18th Army's services in Hungary's liberation during the stagnation era so that Leonid Ilyich could assert in his memoirs that he also liberated the Hungarians."

Such, in brief, were our results in verifying the story "with the kidnapping." However, the fact of this version's groundlessness did not provide any sort of new information about what actually happened to Wallenberg. Suddenly there was unexpected good luck. In trying to find the records of radio station "Koshut," which broadcast from the Soviet Union to Hungary during the war years, we went to see Vadim Germanovich Gusev, head of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio's Department of Radio Broadcasting to Hungary. It turned out that he had served in 3d Ukrainian Front reconnaissance and intelligence [razvedka] during the period which interests us.

"When we arrived at Budapest, colleagues whom we knew only by face and name greeted us, and we often used to



exchange the latest "professional" news and tell each other various amusing stories in our spare time," recalled Vadim Germanovich. "One time, after we arrived at Budapest, I was told that, literally several days before, our reconnaissance and intelligence personnel [razvedchiki] already in the city's liberated area had stopped a luxurious automobile, the passenger in which called himself the Swedish diplomat Wallenberg. The reconnaissance and intelligence personnel had need of this automobile for some purpose, and, despite the passenger's resistance, they pulled him out. He was told that the automobile was being confiscated. Then he demanded a receipt: Just who, specifically, would reimburse the Swedish Mission for the cost of the automobile. Our reconnaissance and intelligence personnel were always resourceful and quick-witted, and they at once scratched on a leather map case a receipt to Wallenberg and that Pushkin, having in mind the great Russian poet, would pay for his automobile....

"By a quirk of fate, Georgiy Maksimovich Pushkin became the first Soviet Ambassador in Budapest, and Swedish diplomats came to him with the receipt for the confiscated automobile. They say that Georgiy Maksimovich, now deceased, dearly loved to tell this story in his circle of friends."

We cannot say at present whether there is much truth here, but, in the first place, Vladimir Gavrilovich Malykhin, who served in Debrecen from 1945 to 1947 as an inspector in the Union Control Commission's inspection office, also heard this same tale; and, in the second place....

Here it is necessary to make a slight digression. In our report "Nothing But the Truth" of 9 August this year, we quoted reader Shelepov's letter from Saratov. Interesting details were contained in the letter to such an extent that we decided to do so: But had Shelepov unexpectedly chanced upon the Wallenberg affair after the war? At our request, our Saratov colleague Irina Shilina, deputy executive secretary of the newspaper ZARYA MOLODEZHI, visited him. Unfortunately, our expectations were not borne out, but the circumstances under which Shelepov first encountered the name Wallenberg seem interesting. They occurred when Shelepov was serving in Germany during the 1953 Berlin incidents. A group of soldiers, commanded by a major, was inspecting motor vehicles on a road. Suddenly an automobile with a diplomatic license plate approached.

"Pass it without inspection!" ordered the major, and then explained: "I was serving in Budapest in 1945, and one time we stopped some Swede by the name of Wallenberg and argued heatedly with him; he later complained to headquarters, and it jumped all over us."

A number of natural questions arises: First, do the stories of Gusev and the unidentified major concern one and the same occurrence? Most likely, yes. Second, how did Wallenberg's fate take shape after this argument? Was he detained by the reconnaissance and intelligence personnel who confiscated his automobile, or did they let him go free? The receipt transmitted to Soviet Ambassador

Pushkin by the Swedes, itself seemingly confirms the latter. The Swedes had to obtain the receipt from somebody, and it had been in Wallenberg's hands!

On the other hand, Vadim Germanovich Gusev himself recalls that he seems to have been told that the story with "the confiscation" ended with Wallenberg's detention, and the reconnaissance and intelligence personnel later turned the diplomat over to SMERSH [abbreviation of "Smert Shpionam" (Death to Spies), a Soviet military counterintelligence service in World War II]. A letter that we received from the well-known writer and dramaturge Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Borshchagovskiy, who has been in Sweden a number of times and was the "USSR-Sweden" Friendship Society's chairman several years ago, also commends this version. Borshchagovskiy recalls that, in the early 1960's, he was at a reception in the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm, where he was introduced to Raul's father and mother, who regularly visited the embassy to find out how the search for their son was going. Not knowing Raul's story in detail, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich asked if they had succeeded in finding out anything new about their son.

"And something unexpected happened," he writes. "Not having said a word in response, and having turned pale, the Wallenbergs turned their backs on me and walked away, if they did not entirely leave the embassy. Their action greatly surprised me. Later, Soviet diplomats explained that Raul Wallenberg had been taken prisoner by an attacking military unit, turned over to SMERSH, and taken away to the USSR."

Questions, questions, questions. The suppositions, versions, and facts that turn out to be plain "fabrication" upon verification—too many of these surround the Raul Wallenberg secret at present. On the day before this article's publication, we phoned Academician A.D. Sakharov, who also is interested in the Swedish diplomat's fate.

"In the West, the Swedish diplomat's tragedy has been a sort of lamp, to the light of which those with a propensity for easy money have swarmed during the long years," said Andrey Dmitriyevich. "Dishonest people knew that Wallenberg's wealthy family was willing to pay big money for any information about him. All things considered, most of the versions concerning Wallenberg's being held in one or another camp or prison have originated in this way."

Helen Karlбек, a Swedish historian authorized by the Wallenberg family to work in the Soviet Archives, and now in the Soviet Union, thinks that only the first steps in the search for precise facts about Wallenberg's fate are being taken at present. There have been a great many reports before this, but most often they have mutually excluded each other.

Your letters are helping us to raise the curtain somewhat on the secret about Wallenberg's fate. Therefore, we ask all of our readers once again—if you know anything at all—write to the editorial office, and make the notation "Raul Wallenberg" on the envelope.



**USSR Writers, Intelligentsia Contribute to Belorussian Victims of Chernobyl**

18001674C Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in Russian 20 Sep 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "To Save People"]

[Text] An article by poet Igor Shklyarevskiy entitled "Children in the Radiation Zone" (*LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*, No 30), dealing with the current tragedy of the Belorussian lands, was discussed at a meeting of the secretariat of the board of the USSR Union of Writers.

A decision was adopted calling for the USSR Union of Writers, jointly with the USSR Literary Fund, to remit 200,000 rubles to the bank account earmarked to aid residents of Mogilev and Gomel oblasts who have been forced to relocate (700073 Minsk OPERU Belresphilsotsbanka SSSR MFO 40019). The editors of *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* also have remitted 100,000 rubles to this account.

A few days ago a telegram from Belorussia was received by the USSR Union of Writers: "Belorussian writers would like to express their heartfelt gratitude to the USSR Union of Writers, the USSR Literary Fund and *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* for the noble gesture of remitting money to the Belorussian Chernobyl Account. This is very essential in order to provide vital assistance to people. Signed: Maksim Tank, Nil Gilevich, Ales Zhuk, Vasil Zuyenok, and Anatol Zhelezovskiy, secretaries of the board of the Belorussian SSR Union of Writers."

We have also learned from the USSR Union of Cinematographers that a decision has been made to allocate 100,000 rubles to the Belorussian Union of Cinematographers to aid Chernobyl disaster victims in Mogilev and Gomel oblasts.

**Deputies Debate State Environmental Funding Plan**

90US0057A Moscow *SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA* in Russian 29 Sep 89 p 1

[Article by M. Rostarchuk: "Ecology: New Approaches Are Needed"]

[Text] Moscow—This is also a first. For two weeks [vvedlivo], the numerous chamber commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been working out, by ordeal, bone by bone, as they say, drafts of the Gosplan and the Gosbyudzhet [State Budget] for 1990, and an account of the spending in the previous year's budget. The administrators of Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, and many other central departments once again found themselves under the well-aimed fire of deputies' questions. However, they should already be used to this—in the end, the "parameters" according to which the country will live for an entire year depend on the decisions made in the committees and commissions.

Take, let's say, this sort of problem: the quality of environmental protection. After all, directing the rational utilization of nature and preserving the natural environment (and this means the health of each one of us), requires funds. Large funds. In the draft budget 12 billion rubles are provided for purposes related to environmental protection. Out of this, 3.65 billion goes to the capital construction of environmental protection facilities.

Is this a lot or too little; what will these funds be spent on, considering the fact that ecological problems today have become so acute, and have been so neglected. This was spoken of yet again during the debates in the Committee on Questions of Ecology and the Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, which will continue for another week.

But first I will note a certain detail that testifies to what departmental bureaucracy has done to us. Practically all of the ministries and departments are concerned with ecology, and this problem should be "in the minds," to some extent, of the deputies working in other commissions and committees as well. But in these places, there is practically no mention of the preservation of the environment.

The deputies on the "ecological" committee noted, first of all, that on the whole the situation in the country is getting worse. This is connected with the general serious situation in the economy, and with the fact that a new organ—the USSR State Committee on the Environment [Goskompriroda], still has not become fully operational, and that local representatives of this institution function poorly or not at all.

More than this, not only have many departments not yet turned their inspections over to Goskompriroda; they are also attempting to drag its functions back into their corners—after all, the more cooks in the kitchen, the greater the demand! And second, neither the status of Goskompriroda has been confirmed nor its rights; finally, in the budget there is no one line for the allotment of moneys specifically for environmental protection. Besides this, as the deputies mentioned, this year's budget for the American Environmental Protection Agency is 4.2 billion dollars. So, as before, Goskompriroda has little authority, and is completely lacking in funds.

Concerning the funds that, according to the budget, would seem to be allotted to capital investments in environmental protection, there is a kind of double accounting system: the moneys that look as if they have been granted for environmental protection in reality belong to enterprises and departments involved in the construction of industrial facilities.

In discussing the drafts for the budget and the plan, the deputies turned their attention to such alarming matters as these, as well. Although more funds are being allotted to ecology than last year, they are clearly inadequate for effecting perceptible changes in the situation. In the best

case, they will mitigate slightly the growing tendency towards the general pollution of the natural environment. But the problem does not really lie with money; construction and industry do not possess the production capabilities to ensure the construction of environmental protection facilities in the necessary volume, for developing environmental protection technology, or for the production of special equipment and instruments for monitoring environmental quality.

Another thing is clear as well. The goals of the current five-year plan in the area of the preservation and rational utilization of nature will not be reached, and in the same way, no breakthrough is anticipated in solving ecological problems in 1990. This alarming situation can be explained by at least two serious causes. First, by the

country's extremely strained financial situation; and second, an economic mechanism has still not been created or launched that would force, on the one hand, enterprises to switch over to new, clean technologies and stop polluting the environment, and on the other hand—that would allow the state to earn money for environmental protection through fines and fees paid for the use of resources.

The deputies have noted that the plan and the budget for environmental protection were drawn up, as before, according to the principle of remainders, and in many places ecology is sacrificed to pay for ministries and departments. The members of the committee intend to introduce fundamental corrections into this section of the Gosplan and Gosbyudzheth for 1990.

### Causes of Rural to Urban Migration in Aktyubinsk Oblast Examined

18300843 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 8 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Report by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent S. Yeremeyev: "Lessons for Tomorrow: Letters From the Remote Areas"]

[Text] Aktyubinsk Oblast—The expression "an unpromising village" has fallen into disuse somehow. But this does not mean that the problem itself has disappeared. On the contrary, it has become aggravated. Tens and hundreds of small villages and settlements are uninhabited; people are leaving them, abandoning the places they have lived in since childhood. A special decree issued by the republic government provides for emergency social assistance to develop the most neglected areas. This work has just begun, and the problems have been accumulating for decades...

They were trying to persuade him: don't be in a hurry, think some more; you don't understand, the work will stop there without you. Tell us how we can help—the sovkhos will not refuse it. Daulet Vasykov frowned under the glances directed at him in the office that was curtained off. Beyond these blinds was the burning sun of the steppe. It was the same whether it was over Tamdy or over Novoukrainka. But the village of Tamdy is the central farmstead of the sovkhos. And Novoukrainka? Even if the place is home and close to the heart... Vasykov, a reliable and trustworthy machine operator, stated in a low voice but firmly: "No, I'm leaving anyway. Anyone who has children will understand. After all, we are living for their sake, you know. I have five children, they have grown up, and everything has been provided for them..."

The Vasykov family is now living on the central farmstead. Many persons have traveled here from the small villages. Novoukrainka, Yerkenkush, and dozens of others—how many houses are there nowadays with their windows boarded up?

#### The School

It is no secret to anyone that an Aktyubinsk village lags behind the city to a greater extent than a Kustanay, a Kokchetav, or a Tselinograd village, let us say, in providing housing of good quality, even if not with modern amenities, as well as cultural institutions and preschool facilities for children, and when the persons engaged in commerce are irresponsible, in providing the basic commodities in everyday demand that are not in short supply by any means. And while it is to our shame that soap, toothpaste, and detergents have become the objects of a mass hunt throughout the country these days, matches and salt... What has happened to them? Precisely this puzzling question was directed at the candidates for people's deputies in meetings with residents in the remote areas of Aktyubinsk Oblast. One must go to

the central farmstead for salt.... To the rayon center for matches... You can't think up anything worse.

Following the villagers' strong displeasure, this commonplace problem was resolved in a few days. A much longer period of time will be needed to deal with the most important factor in the outflow of the rural population to towns and cities. I say "the most important" on the basis of conversations with those who have already left their homes or are planning to leave at any cost—this is the root of all the problems, as they say.

But first a few figures. Since 1980 the rural population of Aktyubinsk Oblast has declined by 12,500 persons. People are going to the cities, and the trend of increasing migration is quite obvious. One-third of the population of the huge oblast is concentrated in Aktyubinsk today. It is clear that the migration, which is making development of the agrarian sector more complicated, is not contributing to the improvement of life in the cities by any means, either: those arriving must be provided with housing, work, and nourishment. Transportation, medical facilities, service, and so forth—all this leaves much to be desired in Aktyubinsk.

The gorispolkom, guided by Kharkov's experience, intends to impose a "duty" of many thousands on enterprises and organizations for each migrant placed in a job: if you want workers from the rural area, pay for them and value them. But after all, this is a delayed fight with a consequence. What about the cause?

School... Because of the lack of one and for the sake of their children, people are abandoning their home areas, where each hill and sapling is familiar and precious. I have cited statistical figures on the moves from a rural to an urban area. But I did not manage to find a reflection of the vast migration "from a village to a village" in any department of the oblast ispolkom. The people are not traveling to places that have gas stoves in the houses and a centralized water supply. The people are going where there is at least an 8-year school.

The boarding schools are not saving the situation, either. There are many of them in the oblast. They built them at one time with the intention of providing "relief" for the situation: the parents work at home in their small villages, and the children study and live at the central farmstead... However, this did not turn out. Most of the boarding schools in the oblast are gloomy, unattractive buildings with antediluvian iron beds in the bedrooms, loud tutors, and poorly groomed children who may do everything or nothing, depending on the character of the principal. Add to this the oppression of the younger ones by the older ones, which exists secretly and semisecretly and which has not been eradicated yet, in the absence of the parents' warmth, as well as the problems of nourishment and medical service, and the resulting picture is depressing.

"My nephew is in the fourth grade of the boarding school here," Kayrat Kazmagambetov, a department head in the Alginskiy Rayon party committee, told me one day.

"I take him away on his days off and chat with him, and he is sick at heart: either they are beating him up or laughing at him, or stealing his cap or something else, and he is sensitive and upset. I am his uncle, but imagine how it is for the parents. For this reason they are getting ready to move; what is good about children being far away from their parents and younger children?"

The small villages in Alginskiy Rayon are becoming deserted. The once famous Lugovoye, Petrovka, Shibayevka, Yerkenkush, Kyzyl-tu, Amangeldy, and Kultaban are falling into decay primarily because there is no place and no one here to teach the children. So the Vasykovs, a friendly working family, have left Novoukrainka's well. The younger ones have been asking for a long time at the new place: when are we going home? It's better there... The older ones have been taking them down a peg: why, did you want to stay at the boarding school? There you are...

#### There Are Suggestions!

The question arises: what should we do to prevent the extinction of our parents' little corner of land? Unfortunately, in discussing the degradation of the small villages in the same Alginskiy Raykom, they did not suggest anything constructive. There was even a monologue like this: we are all children of the stagnation period, he said, and no one has lost the habit of waiting for instructions from the top.

I do not agree: not everyone is waiting.

"Our young families living in the villages of Yerkenkush and Novoukrainka are not even asking, but urgently demanding that schools be opened," says Bauyrzhan Yesengaliyev, the secretary of the party committee at the "Tamdinskiy" sovkhoz. "At the central farmstead there is a boarding school attached to the Tamdinskiy secondary school which is constantly overcrowded. There are now about 60 children here, basically in the secondary grades. I was especially interested; this situation exists on many farms, not only ours. But neither we nor anyone else can do anything: the norms do not permit it. They authorize schools to be opened in small villages only if the number of children 'necessary' are accumulated. I am convinced that these norms, because of which the vital ties with one's family are broken, and because of which the agrarian sector of a vast territory is falling into decay—and that is not an exaggeration, must be made more flexible. We must resume these norms, and without additional investments, just by using the available resources in a sensible manner. This is fully within the power of the republic organs and the Council of Ministers."

"This is an extremely bad problem for us," admitted Yevgeniy Vasilyevich Omutnykh, chief of the oblast's public education administration. "In Aktyubinsk Oblast, 1,364 of the 1,857 settlements are small villages with less than 100 residents. Many of them still have not been connected to the state power system, although sometimes the LEP's [power transmission lines] literally pass

next to them, and often the people are deprived of the opportunity to view republic and central television broadcasts. The difficulties with water are unbelievable—and all the same... All the same, for many native residents who have left their parents' land, the principal motivation was the lack of opportunity to teach their children at home, not somewhere in a remote boarding school. In my view, this critical problem can and must be corrected as soon as possible, without waiting for instructions from above."

"But the trouble is that our perestroyka is continuously stumbling across the callous regulations and norms that have not been abolished," Yevgeniy Vasilyevich continues. "Today the money for education is tied rigidly to the funds, and if we here in the oblast begin solving a problem the way we consider necessary as applied to local conditions, we will fall prey to the financial inspectors right away. 'Not authorized!'—this is the factor which suppresses many undertakings, and this factor must be abolished for the future—without involving any additional resources, of course, but through skillful use of existing resources. If this suggestion is adopted, the opening of small primary and 8-year schools in the small villages is quite workable. And different grades need not be combined for one lesson; even if there are two or three pupils in some of these, there is reason to make use of all 45 minutes separately with them and only with them."

A somewhat different path is suggested by Sapar Zhizdybayevich Zhizdybayev, the head of the department of general and secondary education in the same oblast administration. He says: we do not need a lot of poor boarding schools; let there be a smaller number of them, but make them good ones. In consolidated boarding schools it is easier to resolve the problems of organization and supervision of the educational process, nutrition, and medical examination and service. In addition, regional boarding schools also make it possible to reduce the work force, and hence personnel selection.

But there are also additional and very substantial expenditures for construction, you know. And parents will have less opportunities to see their children, even on their days off.

"It is much simpler to get to the rayon center than to a central farmstead of one collective farm or another," the person I was speaking with said. "Now, with regard to construction. Do you recall the saying that a miser pays twice? For many years we have 'economized' on public education; we have needed school reform. The frame of mind of the pupils and the teacher depends on the kind of building they come to, and this determines to a large extent the productivity of the instruction process. There are 153 small primary schools in the small villages of Aktyubinsk Oblast. It would seem that a small building could be made a lovely sight for everyone and for their children's joy. But no! While department managers and specialists do not deny themselves, as a rule, and they build offices of good quality, the schools... Can we really

call the hovels that are painful to look at schools? How can a teacher with self-respect instill what is wise, good, and eternal here?"

Alas, our very first trip to small villages showed that this is exactly the way matters stand. True, they say that there is one "small ray of light": a small school on the "Yekpetalskiy" forestry farm in Uilskiy Rayon. A small, attractive brick building, the classrooms are bright, water is nearby, and there is no problem with heating in the winter. The graduates of the teacher training school are asking to go there... To the one school out of 153?

### A Meeting on the Steppe

One of the persons I spoke with about the boarding schools and small schools stated categorically: a competent solution of this problem will also resolve the problem of migration and stop it.

I doubt that that is exactly correct. The schools are the main factor, but there are also other reasons why Zbiga and Rozhdestvenskoye have disappeared from the map of Aktyubinsk Oblast and Mamyt, Nushnyakovka, Romankul, Shevchenko, and Bugombay continue thinning out—the list will take up an entire page. The people say: we are tired of living with water that is hauled in, as well as waiting to see if they bring it in or not. Only one-third of the roads in the oblast have been paved, and it is not hard to guess which of the small villages the water trucks will hurry to. And communications, and television? If problems arise with this in the oblast center now and then, one can imagine how it is in the remote area here.

One more aspect: the effect of the Aral catastrophe. More often we mention it in connection with rayons in Uzbekistan and Kzyl-Orda Oblast, but there are three rayons in Aktyubinsk Oblast—Irgizskiy, Chelkarskiy and Bayganinskiy—which are being subjected to the aftereffects of the man-made tragedy to no less extent. It is enough to cite a fact after which any other fact seems insignificant: the average life expectancy in Irgizskiy Rayon is 36 years...

"The questions of establishing, not even improving, a production and social infrastructure for the remote rayons of Aktyubinsk Oblast will not be removed from our agenda from the next 10 to 15 years," believes Ya. Tampayev, deputy chairman of the oblast ispolkom and chairman of the GlavPEU [Economic Planning Main Administration]. And he explains: "This is related to the fact that the decision made earlier by the republic government on remote rayons is not being implemented in full; the Minenergo, Minvodkhoz, Minsvyaz [Ministry of Power and Electrification, Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Ministry of Communications] and the Kazakh State Administration of Civil Aviation have not begun to cope properly with the tasks that were set."

But where are the local soviets and their ispolkoms? After all, this is not the first year we are saying that the soviet should be the single and sole master on its territory.

"We are only talking at present," noted Pavel Petrovich Khokhlom, chairman of the Mugodzharskiy Rayon ispolkom, at one of the sessions of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. "Practically all the enterprises of republic and union departments are withholding deductions for development of the rayon in which their operations are conducted."

However, the time of complaints in expectation of a lavish uncle has passed; there is sense and authority to make use of. For the sake of persons who have had confidence in this authority. It is apparent what all the managers and chairmen of the STK's [presumably: labor collective councils] of enterprises in Aktyubinsk Oblast, without exception, should think about. Nowadays they are not especially longing to protect the percentage—from 2 to 10 percent—of the deductions for local budgets; it is somehow more profitable to divide these funds between the ministry and the enterprise, but after all, these are again interests that are momentary and obviously those of a narrow group. Experience and practice has led us to the conclusion that it is time to put an end by deeds, not words, to the residual principle and the excessive centralization of capital investments, because of which the local soviets have practically been deprived of opportunities to develop their own territories comprehensively without cautiously looking upward with an outstretched hand.

We were reflecting on this with G. Kholodzinskiy, secretary of the Aktyubinsk party obkom. Genrig Ivanovich came out with this bitter statement:

"The region's historic underdevelopment has led to many negative consequences, and deductions of 10 percent are not enough to put an end to them. But it is 2 or 3 percent here, at a minimum..."

Hence the backwardness of the remote areas of western Kazakhstan. However, today its residents are comforted by hope: a program for intensive development of the social sphere in the rural area has been worked out in the oblast and will be realized up to 1995. Regardless of the subordination of the construction trusts, they are all under the supervision of the oblast ispolkom and are coordinated by it—this is what the deputies decided—and they will take part in the realization of this program, which provides for the construction of 84 large and small schools, 49 nursery schools, and 27 clubs.

It is a natural question: where are the funds coming from? After all, the program will remain empty words without them. Perhaps we have come to a key aspect in these notes. The program's fulfillment depends to a significant extent on the production and economic activity of the agrarian sector itself and its efficiency. It is a vicious circle: social neglect is not conducive to a high economic return, and vice versa.

"The gross annual output of the oblast's agriculture totals 400 to 500 million rubles," says Sapar Sagintayevich Sagintayev, chairman of the oblast ispolkom. "This is not much for a serious program to rebuild the rural areas, of course, especially the remote areas, but they are precisely the areas that determine the condition of the agrarian sector to a large extent, you know."

The path is already clear to everyone today: development of all types of contracting, internal cost accounting, and leasing. This path is inconceivable without reducing the inflated superstructure at kolkhozes and sovkhoses everywhere. In this sense, the people in Aktyubinsk have many more good words than visible accomplishments at present. What is more, farm rentiers, who try by fair means or foul to live at the expense of a few leaseholders, have made their appearance. And alas, they are succeeding.

But this is a subject for a separate serious discussion. In the meantime...

Reality sometimes brings up topics that no writer would think of. In the morning a guest in the capital, sharing impressions on Aktyubinsk Oblast, repeated sadly several times: and how are the people living here? At noon, far from the busy highway, a broad-shouldered fellow with prominent cheekbones who somehow resembled one of London's bold heroes, said that he never could live in the city: it's hard there. I tried to respond to him, but he answered, pacing like an owner over the grass that had already pushed up: home is home—how can a person live without it?

### **Workers Use Strike Threat To Resolve Poor Housing Complaints**

18300839 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 14 Sep 89 p 3

[Article by N. Zenkov, SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA special correspondent: "Alarms of 'Makmalzoloto,' Chronicle of a Conflict Which Should Not Have Been"]

[Text] Summer has turned into Autumn and the slopes of the mountains as in Spring are covered by the velvet of various grasses. Makmal. This is where it turns out the poetic name of the gold mining combine comes from. It blended in well with the surrounding blue-green landscape and white city of miners of this precious metal. It stands on the edge of Kazarman, the administrative center of Toguz-Torouskiy Rayon. Wide streets, well-constructed multi-apartment homes, and a large store—it seems that everything here meets contemporary demands. But the wind will return (and this occurs several times a day) and the illusion of well-being is dissipated: Acrid smoke from the local boiler covers the whole surrounding area in an instant. It becomes difficult to breathe.

The residents have enough unpleasantness even without the wind. There is not always hot water. During the winter, central heat is frequently out of order and for

long periods of time. And the frosts here are no laughing matter: up to 40 degrees. However there is not even enough such housing for almost one fifth of the workers. The new ones are poorly constructed. This year Chuystroy Trust was supposed to commission two 48-apartment buildings but did not commission even one.

There is also no system for allocating housing. Empty apartments are filled according to Deputy Combine Director K. Kerimkulov's instructions without regard for the waiting list. This is done with the tacit approval of the trade union committee.

A school, hospital, kindergarten, and dormitory for miners were commissioned with a lot of unfinished items. We cannot understand just why Makmalzoloto's leaders accepted them from that same Chuystroy. It is difficult to treat people and to teach children in them. One can rarely buy fruits or vegetables in the stores even during the summer.

Gold miners are not reticent people. They complained to the combine director, to the party committee, to the party raykom, to oblast organizations, and they wrote to newspapers about the unsettled state of life. Visiting committees as a rule certified the validity of the complaints and proposed elimination of shortcomings. And they left. The combine's leaders not only did not eliminate anything but, as if wishing to prove their invulnerability to the people, did not even yield on small things.

They only took steps against those who dared to wash their dirty linen in public. They created a situation so intense that they were forced to leave the enterprise or to deviate from their principles. Incidentally, SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA (No.'s 112 and 154) wrote precisely about this twice just this year. While examining the last article "Thus, Just Who Scored a Victory?" the combine's party committee decided to establish a committee to study and verify cases without personally determining its composition. We are particularly surprised by the paragraph where the party committee receives comrade Aldzhambayev's announcement (without any commentary) that he is presenting materials to the court on Mirzakhodzhaev whom even the newspaper defended from organizational persecution. They say we know our own!

Generally, the obstinate are at the center of attention. And it was as if the director had not noticed the shortcomings discovered by the people's inspectors in the operation of the personnel department. Although many cases were really outrageous.

Thus, salaries were set too high for eleven managers, including the head bookkeeper. At the same time, appropriate documents were not formulated about the nature of the labor of enrichment plant's workers (here it is called the gold recovery plant) and as a result, they are not enjoying the benefits prescribed by law. The requirements of labor safety rules and production hygiene were continuously and grossly violated. The air tightness of a portion of the pipeline was disrupted at this very factory

due to miscalculations during design and the subsequent improper operation of technological equipment. Leakage of chemical reagent vapors which are harmful to health occurs as a result of which people in certain sectors have to wear gas masks while working. Makmal workers have repeatedly raised the question about all of these shortcomings at workers meetings but without success.

The party raykom made attempts to look into the state of affairs at the combine. This Spring management actions were conducted at its behest on the open-pit mine. Much of what the miners complained about was substantiated. They also verified that work discipline was slack. There were frequent instances of drunkenness even at the work place. As a result, the volume of strip mining and also geological survey of reserves dropped sharply during the first quarter. Of course, the miners' salaries also decreased. The shop transitioned to a collective contract and cost accounting. No matter how much they verified, the enterprise's leaders were not chided for these matters.

Protected from criticism, the combine's leaders became increasingly divorced from the collective and its needs. They rarely visited the shops and sections and they did not talk with people. But having heard the statements and demands at workers meetings, they generously promised to look into them and to take steps. And they immediately forgot about them.

Everyone's patience comes to an end. Therefore, it is no surprise that at the beginning of August, the open-pit mine workers presented an ultimatum to the combine's directors: If steps are not taken within an established time period, they will cease working.

The transport shop, enrichment plant, and other subdivision collectives joined with the miners. Demands were jointly developed. Here are the first points: Relieve Combine Director I. Aldzhambayev, his deputy K. Kerimkulov, and A. Yakin from their posts since they have lost the trust of the collective, re-elect the STK [Technical Supervisory Service] staff who are not carrying out their functions and T. Turdymamatov, party committee secretary. All enterprises will transfer to lease contracts as of January 1990. At the same time, review deduction norms currently in effect as incorrect (the collective is currently collecting 87 percent of profits and its own assets have ceased to be sufficient even for payment of salaries). Reduce overblown management apparatus and deprive bureaucrats of undeserved bonuses and salaries.

Demands were also set forth to accelerate construction of housing, to put the assignment of housing in order, to improve municipal and domestic services, to improve the ecological situation in the housing area and in the plant, and to normalize businesses. Time periods were established for fulfilling the demands.

A joint committee promoting restructuring of the Makmalzoloto combine which was elected at meetings of the enterprise's subdivisions took responsibility for the movement's leadership and for monitoring fulfillment of

the proposed conditions. B. Kadyrshayev, a mining shop geologist, became its chairman and Geologist R. Belyalov, secretary of the shop party organization, became his assistant.

Ye. Donchenko, secretary of the Oshskiy Party Obkom, E. Begimkulov, first deputy chairman of the Oblispolkom, and responsible officials of the Kirgiziya Communist Party Central Committee, the party obkom, and the Glavalmazoloto Oblast Trade Union immediately arrived in Kazarman. Study of the situation showed: The majority of the demands are just. Some of them were immediately solved. Negotiations began on others. Time periods for fulfillment were established for some points, compromise decisions were made on others, and everything was recorded in the protocol.

Tensions subsided. The committee promoting restructuring decided to delay the planned warning strike and afterward not to conduct it at all.

Nevertheless the days of tension did not pass without a trace. In July and August, the enterprise did not fulfill the production and sales plans.

A workers collective representatives conference took place on 19 August. It sort of summed up the conflict, although officially the main issue on the agenda was a report on fulfillment of the enterprise's collective agreement during the first half of the year. Eyewitnesses assert that it was more stormily and actively conducted than any previous meeting. And not altogether smoothly.

As a whole, the conference resolved all issues specifically and in a businesslike manner. The delegates approved I. Aldzhambayev's request to be discharged. The committee was manned through selection of a new enterprise leader on a competitive basis. The committee's demand for dismissal of his assistants was approved. A report on measures taken for resolving other issues was approved including a decision of the party raykom buro on conducting a report back-election meeting at the combine in September. At the same time it was emphasized in many speeches that successfully overcoming deficiencies in production activity and in the social sphere depends to a significant degree on the miners, machine operators, and enrichment plant workers themselves, and on their discipline and conscientiousness.

The workers collective soviet was elected. Almost all members of the joint committee promoting restructuring became members of it. And the issue on the socioeconomic development plan had to be delayed since it was not ready. The management and trade union apparatus once again did not regard their assignment with the proper responsibility.

We need to assume that what occurred at the combine will be subjected to objective and comprehensive analysis. However, we can already now say: The conflict would not have occurred if the combine's leaders had shed their ambitions, had constantly associated with the collective, knew their needs and aspirations, and were

concerned with establishment of optimal living and working conditions. Alas, there was none of this. Even during the enterprise's alarming days of August, the director and the party organization preferred to sit in their offices although they knew that people anxiously awaited them in the sections and in the shops.

FROM THE EDITOR: This article had already been prepared for press when an answer to the article "Thus, Just Who Scored a Victory?" (SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 5 July) arrived from the Kirghiz CP Oshskiy Obkom which confirmed the correctness of foreman A. Mirzakhodzhayev's complaints. The answer will be published in a future issue of the newspaper.

### **Tajik First Deputy Education Minister on 1989 School Year**

18001656A Dushanbe KOMMUNIST  
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 19 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by A. Rashidov, first deputy minister of Tajik SSR Public Education: "In the Face of New Goals the School Counts on the Nation's Help"]

[Text] A crucial stage in the preparations for the beginning of the new school year is occurring in the field of public education. In motion are the consolidation of educational and material resources, the creation of the necessary conditions for normal study and work, and the welcoming of young specialists and the satisfaction of their housing and living needs, etc.

This school year brings substantial innovation to educational institutions. They will be functioning within the framework of new interim regulations which guarantee them greater freedom in the organization of the educational process and in the choice of types of instruction with regard to the interests of the students. The new regulations also contribute to the development of independence and self-management and the democratization of administration. Starting this year, secondary general education schools will adopt a new structure—an 11-year term of instruction with the gradual introduction of new curricula and programs. Students will be given the option of studying individual cycles of subjects in greater depth.

The republic's newspapers have published a draft Concept of General Secondary Education in the Tajik SSR expressing a perspective on the development of public education and on the distinctive characteristics of the national school and directed at the creation of the most favorable conditions for the intellectual, spiritual, and physical development of each individual and for the comprehensive cultivation of his abilities.

In light of current requirements, the curricula of general education schools for the 1989-90 school year have been reviewed. An additional 11 different types of curricula of differentiated and intensified study of individual subjects or cycles of subjects have been adopted to be chosen by the schools. A draft program has been developed for

the secondary school course "History of the Tajik SSR," rated at 120 hours, which will be published for discussion in the pages of the newspaper OMUZGOR.

One of the serious issues of the preparatory phase is to speed up the pace of construction and repairs, major and routine, of public education facilities. The issue is all the more important today with the designation of a major program for the construction of schools and other public education facilities.

The plan for economic and social development of the Tajik SSR in 1989 provides for the completion of more than 50 schools and many annexes—in all 43,000 seats for grammar students, 8,500 seats in preschool institutions, 1,440 seats in PTU's [vocational training schools], as well as the completion of a complex of first phase buildings and structures at TGU [Tashkent State University] imeni V.I. Lenin, and other facilities. Of these, the Ministry of Public Education has plans to construct schools to provide 8,448 seats; and 2,600 seats for students are to be constructed at the expense of kolkhoz resources and 3,058 seats at the expense of the fund for enterprises.

However the actual opening of the majority of the public education facilities is planned for the end of the year. This means that the schoolchildren and teachers who have waited for years for new buildings will once again work in makeshift, dilapidated lodgings deprived of any conveniences, without dining rooms, cafeterias, and gymnasiums. Still more alarming is the situation in the rayons which have suffered from the earthquake and other natural disasters. In these areas school will be held in tents and trailers. This problem worsens every year as the total contingent of students increases and the burden on the schools grows accordingly.

In the time remaining before the start of the school year, the construction of public education facilities must be speeded up. According to preliminary evaluations, it is possible to bring into operation grammar schools providing 18,500 seats in the third quarter.

In those places where the local party and soviet organs devote proper attention to questions of education and try to find concrete solutions to them, matters are going well and there are substantial results. In Dushanbe, for instance, repair efforts are being organized in several different ways. Bosses, student construction detachments, cooperatives, and parent organizations are all getting involved in them. In Gissarskiy Rayon it was decided to bring 225 classrooms into operation before the beginning of the school year through the efforts of the construction cooperatives. The same sort of aggressive action is under way in Garmskiy Rayon. In Pedzhikent the material resources of public education are increased at the expense of public funds. However this practice is not yet observed everywhere.

The resolution of public education problems requires universal attention inasmuch as the issue concerns the study and living conditions of our children. There are



many weak points in this plan. Improvements in the nourishment of the students, in the condition of school and student dining halls, and the provision of school products are all needed.

Right now it is very important to initiate a joint project involving the organs of public education, the executive committees of the kishlak and settlement soviets, and the statistics institutes to make a precise count of the children awaiting instruction in the first classes, to provide them with a thorough medical examination, and to expand the network of school boarding houses and the system of student transportation to the schools. We hope that the soviet executive committees will supervise the activities of the base enterprises concerning the creation of shops and sections and an increase in the number of job openings for student training.

At the beginning of the new year the schools will be replenished with fresh forces and young specialists. The well-being of the school depends in some measure on how they will be received. This year 4,763 young teachers, 2,900 of them with higher and 1,863 with secondary vocational education, have been assigned to institutions of public education in the republic's cities and rayons. In addition, 153 teachers of Russian language and literature who have graduated from the Kuybyshevskiy, Astrakhanskiy, and Michurinskiy pedagogical institutes will be assigned according to place of residence. And 83 specialists will be coming from Kirghizia for Kirghiz schools (all with higher education).

Some of the young specialists will travel to the rural mountain rayons where the shortage of educational personnel is keenly felt. Of course the question of housing for them will come up. Here we count on the help of the local soviets and the leaders of the local economy.

One of the most important issues in the preparations for the new school year is the provision of textbooks and teaching and methodological literature. As of 1 July 1989, 50 textbook titles had been published for a total of 2,710,755 copies. In the new school year, schoolchildren in the sixth and seventh classes of all types of the republic's general education schools will all be guaranteed textbooks. Students in the fourth classes of the 4-year primary school will receive the full complement of new textbooks, except for mathematics. In all 19 titles in each edition, for total of 874,545 copies, were not sent.

In accordance with an agreement concerning interpublic supply, textbooks and teaching literature published here have been sent in a timely fashion, up to the necessary limits, to Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirghizia. In return the republic will receive from these republics as well as from Turkmenia and the RSFSR the necessary quantity of textbooks for schools that do not instruct in Tajik. For the time being, however, only 50-60 percent of the requirements on both sides are being met.

The errors of previous years are being repeated this year too. As before, announced editions of textbooks are being handed out in installments, which has a substantial influence on the timely dispatch of textbooks and programs to the union republics, oblasts, cities, and rayons of Tajikistan. Teaching manuals are not being issued at the same time as the new textbooks, which makes the teachers' work more difficult. The school programs are being printed very late. At this time programs have not been printed on Tajik and Russian languages and literature for the 5th-11th classes and for the primary 1st-4th classes, on Tajik language for the 3d-8th classes in schools with instruction in Russian, and on several other subjects for which proof copies were produced last year.

As usual the quality of the printing in the textbooks and manuals remains poor.

In order to guarantee students and teachers at general education schools with instruction in Tajik the full complements of textbooks and teaching and methodological literature, the Ministry of Public Education plans to publish up to 65-70 textbook titles annually. In addition, it is now necessary to offer two or three versions of the same textbook for the teacher and students to choose between. However the republic's Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] is not able to plan all the textbook titles, citing a shortage of funds for paper. This situation may delay implementation of measures to introduce the state (Tajik) language in the vocational training, secondary vocational, and higher educational institutions.

According to tradition, August teachers conferences are held on the threshold of the new school year. Today, under conditions of democratization, it has been decided to abandon the routine approach to their conduct. The departments of public education have been given the right to freely choose the agenda.

At the August conferences we will be discussing the draft Concept of General Secondary Education in the Tajik SSR, which has been submitted for the judgment of the people of the republic. At the section studies recommendations concerning the interpretation of the Law on Language and measures for its implementation will occupy a central place in the teachers' attentions. Business-like conduct of the August conferences and a broad exchange of experience and opinions will enrich the teachers in many respects.

In a word, the organs of public education and all who are involved in the field of educating and rearing our youth will be faced with a great deal of preparatory work, which in many ways will determine the successful functioning of all our schools.